THE TRUTH ABOUT DESERTERS ROBERT K. MUSIL

THE NATION

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'Guest Workers'
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New Chavez Strategy
ARIZONA FACES A RECALL
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LETTERS

understanding amnesty

Paris

DEAR SIRS: I am writing to you from France. I know that the question of granting or not granting amnesty to deserters and draft resisters of the Vietnamese War deeply divides your country. You may feel that this conflict is an internal matter concerning the United States and thus does not concern Europeans. However, since this problem is a sequel of a war waged for many years against a foreign country, it seems to me that any foreign country has the right to give its viewpoint. As for me, in my capacity as President of the Russell Tribunal which found the American Government guilty of numerous war crimes and of genocide in Vietnam, I shall try to convey the viewpoint of the majority of Europeans.

There are very nearly a million men concerned by amnesty: war resisters, deserters, persons having left the army with less-than-honorable discharges. This is a far cry from the "few hundred" to whom your Administration has at times scornfully referred. If we add to this figure the families of these men, it is clear that we are confronted with a deep rift that the Vietnamese War has created in America. These men, more or less well organized abroad, or underground in the United States, called for full amnesty (while the war was still in progress). But by this they did not mean "pardon," nor even forgetfulness. Certain of the justice of their cause, they simply wanted their rights recognized. And this could not be done unless the government were to reverse itself publicly, and, so to speak, say, "If these men have the right not to wage this war, then we on our side had no right to declare it." Even in 1972, such an amnesty was too much to ask. A Frenchman once said, "History never owns to its errors." Neither do governments, at least not completely. The government of the United States could not, without losing face, simply allow the deserters and war resisters to come home—which would not exactly be treating them as heroes, but at least as citizens of good will, who in this particular case had been right. So it was a dead end.

Today it would seem that we have come out of this dead end. First through the attempt at Vietnamization of the war, then in 1973 through the cease-fire, the U.S. Government, without entirely reversing itself, has implicitly recognized that it had launched an absurd war which it could not win. The war is over, and the situation is now clearer: if the U.S. Government maintains its repressive attitude toward the deserters and draft resisters, it will prove that it has not truly understood this fact, or that its thinking is not in accordance with its actions. Consequently, no foreign country will be able to trust it. The cease-fire means: "We should never have gotten into this war"; a refusal of amnesty would mean the opposite: "We continue to find guilty those who did not want to get into it." By granting amnesty, the government will not be in contradiction with its own logic, and will adjust to its war crimes as best it can, but it will recognize that those who judged the war to be criminal, contrary to international law and to the Constitution of the United States, had the right not to participate. Amnesty would enhance American democracy.

For that matter, public opinion in your country is already partially prepared for such a measure. At least for the amnesty of those students, chiefly of middle-class origin, who were able to give political content to the act of burning their draft cards: 60 per cent of the American population would agree to amnesty for them. It is true that the proportion is exactly the opposite—60 per cent against, 20 per cent in favor—when it is a question of granting amnesty to those white or black workers who joined the Army in hopes of social betterment, and who reacted to the unbearable situation they found by deserting. There is doubtless

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EDITORIALS

The Price Rebellion

The "beefcott" may not succeed in forcing meat prices down, but it has sent a clear signal to the White House and to Congress: prices—and not merely food prices—are too high and consumers are determined to take action. When he initiated Phase III, the President obviously miscalculated the upward pressure of prices, nor did he anticipate the widespread resentment that high food prices have generated. Indignation is almost universal. "Go looking for a 'typical' meat boycotter," reports the New York *Daily News*, "and you won't find one. People with vastly different life styles have made the astounding discovery that everybody eats. And that almost everybody thinks it costs too much."

Judged in terms of its political impact, the boycott has been successful. It has dominated the media for a week or more and is still rolling ahead. Coupled with George Meany's indignant statement about food prices, the boycott forced the President to act. As late as March 15 he firmly disavowed any intent to control food prices, and Secretary of Agriculture Butz was so sure nothing would be done that he described anybody who advocated such controls as "a damned fool." Now we know that a top-secret debate was going on for three weeks in the White House before the President suddenly decided—with no notice to Butz and other aides—that some action was politically imperative.

What happened was that to cultivate the farm vote, the President delayed action until food prices had reached a peak. Then, because a "something-must-be-done" situation had developed, he imposed a ceiling. But as one dissatisfied housewife put it, "What's the point of freezing prices after they're already out of reach?" She wants a rollback, and she has plenty of company. Nor are farmers and food processors satisfied with the President's action; for one thing they hold him responsible for the boycott. Because Phase III was initiated prematurely, controls must now be reimposed, painful as this may be to certain interest groups. Congress is apparently of a mood to take action even if the President does not. Bess Myerson, who turned in such a fine performance as City Consumer Affairs Commissioner in New York (she resigned recently) that she heads a preference poll of possible candidates for mayor, has called on the Administration to "pry itself loose from a blind allegiance to farmers' profits and institute an immediate four-month freeze on food prices, including the prices paid to farmers." But since the situation has deteriorated so sharply under Phase III, prices should be rolled back to January 1. Meanwhile, the boycott should be continued for another week—or for at least two days a week—until some such action is taken. Those adversely affected, meatcutters, retailers, restaurants and others, should follow the example of the boycotters who, as the *Daily News* reports, "put action where their beef is." The Administration is responsible for the boycott, not the housewives who took its spokesmen seriously and decided "to eat a bit less."

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ITT: A Small Whale

By comparison with the largest U.S. multinational corporations, ITT is, as *The Christian Science Monitor* reports, "a small whale." Even so, it has 236,000 stockholders, 398,000 employees, a net worth of $3.83 billion and an annual product valued at $4.07 billion—which puts it just behind Peru but well ahead of Malaysia or Algeria. It operates in some seventy countries.

This baby whale has real influence at the highest levels of the Nixon Administration, which it did not hesitate to use in attempts to involve this country in "dirty tricks" aimed at defeating Dr. Allende's campaign to become President of Chile and, later, of preventing him from taking office. ITT officials have given conflicting testimony before Sen. Frank Church's subcommittee, nor can their testimony be reconciled at some points with that of government officials. (Harold Geneen, chairman of ITT, has now conceded that he no doubt forgot having offered the CIA money to be used for the defeat of Allende.) However, the general pattern is clear enough. In September 1970, John A. McCone, former head of the CIA, later a director of ITT, and still a consultant for the CIA, offered the government a cool million—in the "anti-Communist" spirit, he said, of the Marshall Plan and the Berlin airlift—to aid in whatever plans the CIA and/or the government might have to keep Allende from taking power. This offer was made to Henry Kissinger with the approval of Richard Helms, McCone's successor at the CIA, about a month before the runoff election of October 24, 1970. On September 16, Kissinger, in some off-the-record remarks to a group of Chicago editors, said: "I don't think we should delude ourselves that an Allende takeover in Chile would not present massive problems for the United States and democratic forces and pro-U.S. forces in Latin America. . . . We are taking a close look at the situation." The McCone proposal—a clear tender of private subsidy for public action—was ultimately rejected by the government, but earlier and before the popular election of September 4, 1970, the CIA apparently spent $400,000 on a covert propaganda campaign to defeat Allende.

The testimony of both ITT and government officials before the Church subcommittee is "unclear" for a reason. ITT has a claim for $92.5 million pending with the Overseas Private Investment Corp. by way of reimbursement for its properties in Chile. A corporation must wait one year after its property has been expropriated before filing a claim with OPIC. During the waiting period it is required to negotiate with the government in question to determine whether a settlement can be made. Then OPIC has six months within which to accept or reject the claim. The six-month period on the ITT claim expires around May 1. Under the law, if ITT meddled in Chilean affairs, OPIC can reject its claim. But there is a catch: if ITT intervened at the request of the U.S. Government, then it might still be able to recover.

Several issues loom from testimony at the current hearings. In a handsome four-color, 32-page booklet, ITT boasts that it is "Serving people . . . and nations everywhere . . . because we care." That is a familiar theme for multinational corporations. [See Vol. 1, No. 1, of *Elements*, a glossy new magazine on international business

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issued by Dow Chemical; see also the article by Robert Sherrill in this issue, p. 488.] But it is clear, even before the conflicts in testimony have been resolved, that ITT enjoys a relationship with both the State Department and the CIA—remember McCone is still a consultant for the latter as well as a director of ITT—that cannot be in the best interests of the American or the Chilean peoples, regardless of how well it serves the interests of ITT, its officers and stockholders. A few publications have been raising pertinent questions: Was ITT seeking to use the government to protect its interests in Chile, asks the *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, or was the government seeking to enlist ITT's aid in toppling a regime it did not like, or was it simply a case of both having "a community of interests"? "How much influence may a corporation legitimately exert, in its own interest, on foreign policy?" asks *Business Week* (March 31). "How far should a government go in protecting the foreign operations of its corporate citizens and, conversely, how far should it go in regulating their behavior abroad? More fundamentally, of what country is ITT—or any multinational company —a citizen?"

Rep. John C. Culver (D., Iowa) has another question; a subcommittee he chairs will start hearings in May to determine whether overseas investments by American multinational corporations should be insured. But the basic question is that raised by *The Christian Science Monitor*: "What is the place of these multinationals in world affairs?" Mintz and Cohen, in *America, Inc.* (1972), estimate that, if present merger rates continue, 300 giant international corporations will by 1985 dominate the economies of the principal non-Communist countries of the world. Already our good neighbors, Canada and Mexico—no doubt with an eye on ITT's performance in Chile—have begun to express serious doubts about the extent to which American multinational whales, large or small, should be encouraged to feed on their economies. ITT has a job on its hands if it intends to convince all governments, everywhere, that it exists to serve the best interests of people in the seventy countries, including the United States, in which it operates. So far as *The Nation* is concerned, it would be our hope, on the basis of what is now known about ITT's operations in Chile, where as late as March 21, 1972, Allende's government was still willing to negotiate a settlement (that was before Jack Anderson published the first of the ITT memos), that if OPIC approves the claim for indemnification, John Gardner's Common Cause will retain Ralph Nader to file a court action seeking to enjoin payment.

Those 'Reserve' Armies

For the last decade European industry has enjoyed a distinct advantage in competition with U.S. industry because of its ability to tap a large reserve army of immigrant labor, variously estimated at between 9 million and 11 million workers (see article p. 486, this issue). For example, West German machine manufacturers pay unskilled foreign workers as little as $1.70 an hour, compared with an average rate of $2.20 for the handful of Germans still employed in unskilled jobs, and with an average of $3.14 for unskilled workers in U.S. machine manufacturing (*Business Week*, March 31; p. 94). Now, however, U.S. multinational corporations in Europe tap the same pool of unskilled immigrant labor and, to this extent, are on equal footing with European industrial plants. But it is not just in Europe that immigrant or migrant unskilled labor is a significant factor in industrial expansion. In Taiwan, extensive use is made of unskilled labor imported from Korea and the Philippines. Japan has long used Korean labor, which commands a rate about one-fifth that of the Japanese. Now Japanese industrialists are shifting labor-intensive operations to such low-wage countries as Singapore, South Korea and Malaysia. But, as *Business Week* notes, these Japanese firms now find themselves right next door to U.S. MNCs that shifted some of their labor-intensive operations, as in the electronics industry, to Asia in the 1960s, in order to compete with the Japanese! And in South Africa, British and American MNCs have been paying Africans at below subsistence levels, although recently some improvements have been made, largely in response to public pressure (*The Manchester Guardian*, March 17).

Industrial capitalism has, of course, long exploited "cheap" immigrant or unskilled migrant labor, but postwar developments, including the emergence of the MNCs, have given the practice a new impetus. As a result of the so-called Keynesian revolution, neither trade unions nor the general public in the industrial nations will endure mass unemployment; governments are forced to invoke the familiar Keynesian measures as a condition to remaining in power. Before 1945, industrial employers could take advantage of the capitalist economic cycle in order to reduce the pressure of rising wage costs on profits. In the postwar period, European industrialists have taken to recruiting unskilled immigrant labor in the familiar pattern of American industry. Not only can recruited immigrant labor be employed at rates less than those paid "natives" for the same task but their presence in large numbers creates a general pressure on wages and also serves to divide and weaken the labor movement. Nor has America dropped the practice. No one knows with any certainty the number of illegal immigrants now in this country but, by all counts, it is very large indeed. Such industrial centers as Cincinnati, Cleveland, Akron, Dayton, Chicago and Detroit have attracted an estimated 4 million migrants from Appalachia and other depressed areas. In the Southwest, Mexican labor, either in the form of illegal entrants or "green card" workers, constitutes an important source of unskilled labor; in El Paso, Mexican workers in the large Farah plant, paid a starting wage of $1.70 an hour, are still on strike. And blacks, of course, have long been used in the same way.

In addition to its negative pressure on the wage scale, immigrant and migrant labor can be returned, or can be induced to return, to the areas from which they came when a business cycle spins down. But in recent years the costs of recruitment, including training, housing, social services, etc., have increased. At the same time, the various labor movements have begun to take a more active interest in organizing immigrant labor and the immigrants themselves are becoming restive—witness the strike set off recently by 400 foreign workers at the Renault plant in France, which has forced the layoff of 7,000 men. And

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where the MNCs have shifted labor-intensive operations to cheap labor areas, public pressure, as in the case of the British and American firms in South Africa, can become an important factor in forcing an increase in wage rates for unskilled labor. Even so, industrial capitalism will continue to pursue these "reserve" armies of unskilled workers, not because its owners and managers take pleasure in the practice but because the use of such labor has become a built-in aspect of the way industrial plants accumulate capital for further expansion and research and technological innovation.

The more difficult and expensive it becomes to enlist this cheap manpower, the more trade wars and rivalries will heat up; and they in turn will encourage the multinational form of organization. These developments confront the international labor movement with a new challenge. "As long as there is economic, social and legal discrimination against immigrants, local workers are bound to regard them with suspicion as potential tools of the employers. Similarly, as long as segregation between the two sections of the working class persists, immigrant participation in the labor movement is very hard to achieve. Eliminating discrimination means not only equal pay for equal work but also equal employment, promotion and training opportunities for immigrants." ("Immigrants: West Europe's Industrial 'Reserve Army,'" by Stephen Castles and Godula Kosack; *New Society*, November 30, 1972.)

The Carabanchel Ten

A group of Spanish metalworkers, but including also a lawyer, a taxi driver and a priest-construction worker, are shortly to be tried by the Franco dictatorship for illegal union activities. The plight of these men, known as the Carabanchel Ten, is quite unrecognized in the United States; we are allied with so many dictatorships that a crackdown on labor in one or another is hardly news. The Canadians are more aware: there is in Toronto a Canadian Committee for a Democratic Spain.

After thirty-four years of Generalissimo Franco's rule, Spain is on the way to becoming a tinderbox, and Franco and his henchmen know it. Their response is a pretense of liberalization that fools no one. Franco, now 80, declared in his year-end address that his National Movement "will accentuate the participation of all Spaniards in political work, opening increasingly wide channels for the incorporation of those who feel concern for public affairs." Everyone understands that this participation must be within the limits decreed by the dictatorship.

The crime of the Carabanchel Ten is that they seek to form free labor unions, with the right to strike. Spain has labor unions—vertical syndicates imposed on Spanish workers by the Falange at the end of the 1936-39 civil war. These syndicates are about as effective for worker protection as the all-inclusive Nazi labor organization, presided over by Gauleiter Robert Ley. As in Nazi Germany and Fascist Italy, the basis of the Spanish dictatorship is the exploitation of the underlying population. Hence the ban on trade unions and the right to strike. When workers strike in defiance of the law, they speedily find themselves in jail.

Constant repression is required by the alliance of the big industrialists with the regime; it is not confined to labor, but extends to housewives, dissident priests and the whole working and lower-middle class. The police are everywhere. When the price of a subway ride was increased from 3 to 4 pesetas, Madrid policemen and the even tougher Guardia Civil were stationed at the ticket windows and on the platforms; each time the price of bread goes up, they are in front of the bakeries. When students seek to meet on their campuses, the police move in to break up the gatherings.

Henry Giniger described the general situation adequately in the March 18th *New York Times*, but he made no reference to the ten labor leaders in jail since last June for "illegal association," and facing sentences ranging from twelve to twenty years, mostly the latter. Trade unions have protested in Britain, France, West Germany, the Soviet Union, Italy, Poland, Venezuela, Bulgaria, India and Canada, but in the United States only President Leonard Woodcock of the UAW has spoken out. Most Americans are oblivious of repression in Spain, largely because neither the printed nor the electronic press is interested in reporting it. Apparently the sentiment is that as long as Franco allows us to keep our military bases in Spain (at a stiff rental) all's well in the world of the Falange.

Blount's Babies

Under the above title, Rep. Charles H. Wilson (D., Calif.) inserted an interesting story in the *Congressional Record* (March 14). The Blount in question is Winton M., the last Postmaster General to head the Post Office Department and the first boss of the U.S. Postal Service, which so far has not endeared itself to its customers. The "babies" are a mail-sorting plant in Des Moines and another in Detroit, to be built by Blount Brothers Construction Co., at a cost of $18 million in the first case and $22 million in the second. Representative Wilson's interest in the matter stems from his chairmanship of the Subcommittee on Postal Facilities, Mail, and Labor Management. Also involved in what promises to be a matter of some concern to the Nixon Administration is the *Federal Times*, which editorialized in its March 14th issue on the subject of automated postal centers in general and Mr. Blount's role in their development in particular.

What qualified "Red" Blount to preside over the transition from the Post Office Department to the still higher priced Postal Service is not clear, but from early days Postmasters General have been selected more for their political muscle than their efficiency in moving the mail—with which they traditionally have had nothing to do. After service in World War II, Winton and his brother formed a successful construction company. Winton was also chairman of the Alabama Citizens for Eisenhower in 1952 and Southwestern director for Nixon and Lodge in their unsuccessful bid for the Presidency in 1960. By that time he had been designated Outstanding Young Man of Alabama (1956) and, later, Man of the Year of Montgomery. By 1968 he had gained

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national stature as president of the U.S. Chamber of Commerce, and in 1969 President Nixon appointed him Postmaster General.

For decades there has been talk, and some action, about enlisting modern technology to speed the mails. Under Blount, steps were taken to process mail through bulk-mail centers in locations spotted around the country. The objection to such regional handling is that mail between points, say 50 miles apart, may in many cases travel several hundred miles in order to pass through the processing center. Depending on location and other factors, some mail may be speeded up, while some may be delayed even more than it is now. The idea is really still in an experimental stage and it may be argued that it should be tried out in one or two areas before it is adopted on a national scale.

However, on leaving public office, Mr. Blount expressed pride on two counts—that service would be improved through automated mail facilities and that he had removed politics from the postal service. Representative Wilson is skeptical of these interrelated claims. He concedes that Blount Brothers Construction Co. was the low bidder, but points out that plans for the bulk-mail system were developed during Winton Blount's management. "With this information," Wilson says, "it is no wonder that Blount has been the successful bidder."

Wilson also questions the propriety of a decision made while Winton Blount was Postmaster General. A cousin of his, Bobby J. Blount, had been the contractor for a mail delivery route in suburban San Diego before Winton Blount was connected with the Post Office Department. The cost to the Post Office was $15,888.88 a year. The contract came up for renewal in October 1970, while Winton Blount was in office. The route had grown as the suburban area expanded, and the contract was renewed, with no outside bidding, at $80,231.61 a year. Bobby Blount was dissatisfied and asked for an additional $33,567.96 because of "unforeseen cost increases." The Postal Service agreed to raise the contract to $96,249.14.

Wilson quotes the General Accounting Office's comment that the renewal on a closed basis and at a greatly increased cost was "questionable from the standpoint of prudent contracting practices and may in fact have been made with the intent of circumventing the law." This view may or may not be justified, but the deal with Cousin Bobby and the two contracts for automated mail facilities leave no doubt that Winton is good to the Blount family.

'GUEST WORKERS'

KEY TO EUROPE'S BOOM

JONATHAN POWER

Mr. Power is an economist, journalist and film maker, now living in London, whose major interest in recent years has been race relations. For the past eighteen months he has spent considerable time studying immigrant labor in Europe, a subject that raises problems of race.

London

"The problem is straightforward," M. Marcel Rousseau, the economic spokesman for Renault, told me; "industry is growing faster than population and we just cannot do without immigrants." Renault has a work force of 95,000, of whom 21,000 come from overseas; they are for the most part Moroccans, Algerians, Portuguese, Spanish, Senegalese and Tunisians. By now it has also become obvious that France cannot house these immigrants it so desperately needs. They are twice as numerous as those coming to Britain, and most of them live in slums with a significant number still in bidonvilles—hastily thrown together shelters made of cardboard, corrugated iron, old car doors and bits of wood.

If events had gone according to plan the bidonvilles would have been well out of the way by the time Herman Kahn made his glorious New York prophecy that France would have Europe's most powerful economy by 1985. Three years ago, on February 12, 1970, after a fire had swept one of those bidonvilles, M. Chaban-Delmas, then Prime Minister, made a public commitment to get rid of them all by the end of 1972. That was not meant to be an idle commitment: he repeated this promise on June 19 and again on June 29. But the bidonvilles are still there and the source of the problem—the hunger for cheap immigrant labor—is almost as strong as ever. As Kahn himself pointed out, reflecting the opinion of most industrialists who have studied the problem, France's rapid economic growth has been made possible by immigrant labor, and the only thing likely to change in the future is that, instead of being Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, the majority of the immigrants will be Africans, both Arab and black. No senior French official knowledgeable of the problems is prepared to argue that France can rid itself of all the bidonvilles as long as this enormous demand exists.

Although France might seem the nation most culpable, inasmuch as it has the fastest economic growth, the brightest prospects and the worst slums, it is only part of the pattern that extends across Northern Europe. The Germans have more than 3 million immigrants and the government's prediction of the number expected to arrive in 1980 will in fact be reached this year. Luxembourg now has almost as many immigrant workers as native. In Switzerland immigrants comprise 30 per cent of the work force. Even Norway has its Pakistanis—on the ultra-modern Renault assembly line at Flins 80 per cent of the workers are foreign.

Inevitably, immigration of such proportions exacts a

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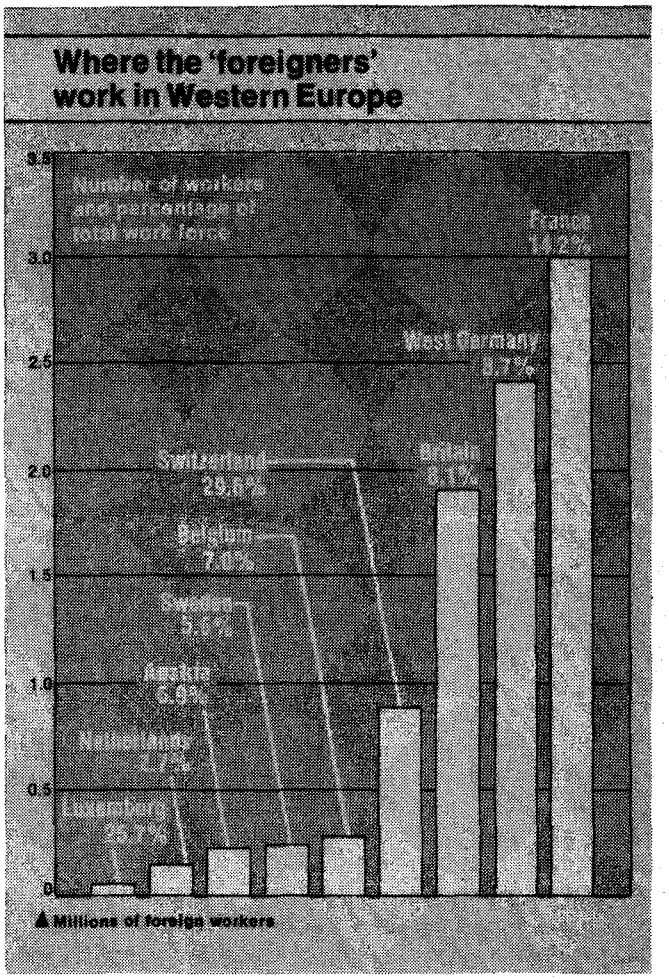
social price. Holland, the nation that everyone thought knew how to avoid racism, given its success in integrating the Indonesians during the 1950s, had an ugly awakening last August when the residents rioted in a poor neighborhood of Rotterdam. Dutch workers, made bitter by the competition from Turkish immigrants for scarce housing, burned down several Turkish lodging houses. And a few weeks ago Dr. Van Agt, the Dutch Minister of Justice, called for restrictions on the admission of Surinamese into Holland.

Almost unwittingly, Europe has allowed the build-up of a large, vulnerable and defenseless new proletariat. Few of them have the vote. (British Commonwealth immigrants and the Dutch and French Antilleans are very much the exception.) They are actively discouraged (and in some countries effectively forbidden) from sending for their families and putting down roots. The unions, with a few honorable exceptions, are wary of them. And racism is increasing all over Europe. In this situation, pressures work on governments to build the housing and make the social provisions that would give the immigrant a decent return for his labor. It does not take extraordinary foresight to perceive that this is a recipe for social turbulence of which the Rotterdam riot is but a minor warning.

Europe's opinion leaders have different ideas of how to obviate the predictable explosion. Willy Brandt suggested a few months ago that Germany had reached a "critical limit" in its intake of foreign workers, and stated that the policy of his government is to encourage more investment in labor-saving machinery. Dr. Sicco Mansholt, the recently retired president of the Common Market Commission, proposed a couple of weeks before leaving office that the immigrants should be given the franchise so that they can have some political influence. And in a major speech in December, M. Albert Coppe, who was until recently the EEC commissioner responsible for social affairs, said that immigrants should be seen as Europe's tenth partner, and went on to suggest that the only way to avoid grave social tensions was to take the capital to the developing countries rather than bring their labor here. And last month the French Director of Immigration, M. Charles Barbeau, suggested to me, as he no doubt suggests to his political masters, that it is "morally wrong to build the development of our wealth on the backs of foreign manpower."

The time has come to develop a cohesive and rational European policy toward immigration; to lay down some ground rules, but above all to decide on the purpose and future of imported manpower. But it is not easy for an Englishman to do this. First, since 1962 Britain, unlike the rest of Europe, has been taking in a decreasing number of immigrants. (This is not so much the result of our restrictive immigration legislation as because our economy has been in the doldrums.) Second, in the climate engineered by Enoch Powell and his liberal opponents, it is difficult to talk sensibly about future immigration policy. Neither the racists of the Right nor the charitable souls of the Left have thought about the implications for immigration policy of future economic growth in Britain. If entry into Europe produces the economic growth on which Mr. Heath has staked his reputation, will it not



Mario De Vincentis; Business Week

also mean that we shall have to import the labor to service it? (And we ought to be clear that, however much we might like it otherwise, those immigrants will not be Italians, Spaniards or Portuguese, but black and brown people. Emigration from the less developed European countries has reached its peak and their own economic development increasingly takes up the slack.)

Yet the European experience should convince us that it would be a great mistake to open our doors again. We always underestimate the damage immigration does to ourselves. But obviously it cannot be good for us to believe that we can develop our economy only if we have available a helot class—a group of people who are identifiably of another race to do the despised menial jobs. Inevitably, this breeds in us attitudes of superiority and disdain that under pressure and strain easily become racialistic and discriminatory.

Immigration is of questionable value to the sending countries themselves. It is true that countries like Turkey and Portugal receive more in remittances from emigrants than they do from that great money spinner, tourism. Turkey's nationals in West Germany alone pay Turkey's import bills. Earning foreign exchange, however, is only one of a number of key elements in the development process, and emigration produces a host of negative factors. There is the psychological damage in-

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flicted on the migrants: first, the diminished importance of their self-esteem as they are reduced to playing a menial role in someone else's economy; second, the imprint of the superficial rewards of that alien culture and economy—how else explain the Turkish migrants who swarm home from Germany with television sets under their arms, when there is no electricity in the villages to which they return?

And while the migrants are away from home, agriculture declines. Land often goes unworked or is abandoned; farming becomes a despised occupation. Village life is crippled and families suffer untold hardship, not least the introduction of venereal disease when the men return. "The employment of foreign workers in Europe," editorialized *To Vima,* a Greek newspaper, "has proved to be an evil worse than war." If the migrant comes home to settle, the "skills" he has learned in Europe are rarely applicable. The hundreds of thousands of Algerians who know how to put together two small parts on a French assembly line have little to offer the Algerian economy in its key building and public works sectors. For the Algerian Seven Year Plan (1967-73) the planners estimated that they could use only half their metalworkers now in Europe. Too many of the returned immigrants, unable to apply the training learned overseas, but determined not to resume "lowly work" on the land, set up marginal cafés or establish taxi services for a populace with nowhere to go.

On top of all this a *laissez-faire* emigration policy has allowed large numbers of scarce professional people to run away from their responsibilities back home. A report published on January 15 by the U.S. National Science Foundation disclosed that 16,300 immigrant scientists, engineers and doctors were admitted to the United States in fiscal 1970. And Asia rather than Europe is the main source of these professionals. In 1972 alone, 1,513 doctors left India for the United States. Needless to say, in both the professional and working-class groups it is often the most adventurous, hard-working and enterprising manpower that emigrates.

The conclusion of all this stares us in the face: steps must be taken to stanch the lifeblood of the developing world. Since for the most part it is Europe which has generated the forces behind these patterns of migration, it is incumbent on Europe to play a major part in ending them. We need a rigorous and restrictive immigrant policy —with no loopholes for professionals. But it is not as simple as that. The migrants come here to participate in the wealth we dangle before them; wealth that has often directly or indirectly been built on the product of their labor. We have waxed fat on the contribution of the Third World—the slave trade which provided so much of the capital that generated the Industrial Revolution; their raw materials bought for so long at uneconomic prices; their markets, often artificially controlled by the industrial powers to make our exports appear cheaper than their own manufactures; and not least in more recent times the supply of raw manpower to make our consumer society possible. Now it is their turn to develop. And we have the responsibility to make the capital available. But not capital that seeks an economic return; it must be capital given without strings and for the sole purpose of developing the country where it is given. (There is one important caveat to that prescription: those who have come with their families, put down roots and want to stay [probably a minority in Europe], must be allowed to exercise their choice. For their children, born or brought up here, development in Africa, Asia or the Caribbean is no longer a relevant concept.)

What does this mean for Europe? The answer is harsh: it probably means that Europe can no longer go on growing at recent rates. It means a leveling off of our standard of living. In fact, for many of us it will mean a decrease, because some of what we now have we must send abroad and some must go to compensate those who do jobs that must be done, but that no one in our society wants to do. For with economic growth cut back, the alternative would be profound social unrest.

It is a tough prescription. But the vast immigration of the 1960s and 1970s has forced us to realize that the Third World is no longer a passive partner. The Third World wants a piece of the cake. And we must find a way of giving it to them, without destroying both ourselves and them. □

INVISIBLE EMPIRES

The Multinationals Deploy to Rule

ROBERT SHERRILL

Hopelessly late, as usual, Congress is now half-heartedly facing up to the fact that multinational corporations not only exist but are not an unmixed blessing. At this writing Sen. Frank Church is cranking up a Senate Foreign Relations subcommittee to look into the effects of the multinational corporations (MNCs) around the globe. Last month a Senate Finance subcommittee on international trade, under Sen. Abraham Ribicoff, took a restricted and inadequate glance at the same problem.

The MNCs are products almost entirely of the 20th century. The first significant ones were the giant mining and oil companies—Anaconda, British Petroleum, Standard Oil, International Nickel, etc. Other pioneer multinationals included National Cash Register, Woolworth, Singer, Ford, GM and the rubber companies.

Multinationals are so common today that for the sake of perspective the term is now generally limited to about 300 of the largest of them. The rule of thumb is that an MNC is a corporation operating in at least six countries, whose foreign subsidiaries account for at least

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one-fifth of the parent company's assets and sales, and which has $100 million or more in annual sales. Actually, for the top MNCs, that would be pin money. The biggest of them all, General Motors, has annual sales approaching $30 billion, a sum larger than the gross national product of all but fourteen or fifteen countries. GM dwarfs the likes of Greece and Turkey; Standard Oil of New Jersey has an annual income equal to South Africa's GNP; Ford Motor Co. has an annual income larger than Austria's GNP. Royal Dutch Shell, General Electric, IBM, Mobil Oil, Chrysler, Unilever, ITT, Texaco, Standard Oil of California, British Petroleum, Ling-Temco-Vought, Standard of Indiana, Shell Oil, General Telephone—with incomes ranging between $11 billion for Royal Dutch Shell and $3.5 billion for General Tel (these are 1970 figures)—are economic nation-states. The multinational corporations are in fact, and for good reason, often referred to as the "invisible empires."

Except that now, because of a growing fear within some governments, they are no longer quite so invisible. Much of the alarm stems from the fact that the United States dominates the world of the multinationals. Of the 300 giant MNCs, two-thirds call the United States home. These 200 corporations account for 80 per cent of all direct U.S. foreign investment; they have estimated annual sales of $200 billion. And they are just getting under way. Some experts predict that, whereas in 1969 the 300 top MNCs accounted for 15 per cent of the free world's GNP, by 1990 they will account for half of it. Concentration of power and control of resources will intensify, and the numbers of people dependent on MNCs for their livelihood will increase accordingly. Experts believe that by 1990 it won't be unusual for an MNC to hire a million people.

In the long-suppressed "Herb Gray Report," prepared for a fearful Canadian Government that watches its economy being gobbled up by U.S. MNCs, the view of the future is not only gloomy but eerie: "If multinational corporations were to develop to the point where they become the major organizers of production in the world, they would undoubtedly be a major power. But power responsible to whom? At the moment this power is wielded largely by national governments responsible to their electorates. In a world dominated by large and powerful multinational corporations, to whom would nonelected boards and management of multinational enterprises be responsible?"

The relevance of this question was proved only too sharply by the recent dollar devaluation brought about by the dumping of $6 billion in dollars on the German market. This knocked the money market temporarily into a tailspin. Couldn't the governments of the world, working through their central banks, have prevented this from happening? Unfortunately, the governments are at the mercy of the MNCs. As the U.S. Tariff Commission recently noted, the multinational corporations and their private banking allies hold a $268 billion pool of capital. "This $268 billion, all managed by private persons in a private market which is virtually uncontrolled by any sort of official institution, amounts to more than twice the total of all international reserves held in central banks and international monetary institutions in the world. . . . These are reserves with which central banks fight to defend their exchange rates. The resources of the private sector outclass them."

To the fabulously wealthy MNCs, $6 billion is a drop in the bucket, though the misuse of even that amount is enough—as shown—to force the United States, supposedly the most powerful government in the world, to take another tuck in its dollar. Furthermore, the U.S. Government doesn't even know (or pretends not to know) how it gets trimmed in this fashion, or by whom.

In the recent Senate Finance hearings on international trade, this exchange took place between Senator Ribicoff and Peter Flanigan, special assistant to President Nixon and executive director of the Council on International Economic Policy:

Ribicoff: "Out of a total of short-term assets of $268 billion, in the international monetary market, American banks and corporations control about 70 per cent or $190 billion. Do you have any idea of what degree of shifting of funds of American firms and banks contributed to the speculation, the attack on the dollar in recent weeks leading to devaluation?"

Flanigan: "We are not able to get accurate information, though the impression certainly in the early days was that most of those movements were not connected with American firms."

[*Whose impression? He says in the same breath that "that question was asked several times . . . during the discussions leading up to our" devaluation, so there must have been at least some heavy suspicions to make the question arise so insistently.*]

Ribicoff: "How can you determine what shifting took place out of the $190 billion controlled by American firms, because it would not take too much of a shift to cause the attack on the American dollar?"

Flanigan: "You are quite correct. It was a $6 billion flow of funds into Germany that essentially led to the recent devaluation, and it is very difficult to determine, as I said, how those funds—where those funds moved from. We did ask the Fed [Federal Reserve Board], and from the best information we could get from them, which they admit is very sketchy, it did not appear in the early days that it was American firms, but I am taking their comments on faith and I do not know myself."

Ribicoff: "In other words, this government has no way of determining who was responsible for the shifting of the funds. The shift of $6 billion to Germany led to a quick profit of some $400 million. Any idea who made that $400 million?"

Flanigan: "If we knew that, we would know who shifted the funds, Senator. We do not."

(In fact, the press was full of reports, even as Flanigan testified, of the extent to which U.S. MNCs had engaged in currency speculation. For example, *Business Week* of February 17 quoted a Frankfurt source to the effect that corporate treasuries were responsible for about 50 per cent of the $6 billion in dollars that flowed into Germany.)

Ribicoff then asked Flanigan "what steps is the Administration taking to determine what caused the shift

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of funds and who was responsible?" and Flanigan said they weren't taking any steps at all. That's the second half of the problem: the Nixon Administration sympathizes with the MNCs and doesn't want to criticize them. But that is quite apart from the first part of the problem: that the MNCs operate in such a secret and well-heeled fashion that, when they choose to move, governments may tremble but can seldom stop them.

Going back to Canada for a moment, it is worth pointing out that the country has been aware for some time that it is losing control of its own destiny, but seems incapable of doing much about it. The Herb Gray Report shows these percentages of nonresident ownership in Canada: 99.7 per cent of the petroleum and coal products industry; 93 per cent of rubber products; 87 per cent of transport equipment; 84.5 per cent of the tobacco industry; 81.3 per cent of chemicals and chemical products; 72.2 per cent of machinery; 64 per cent of electrical products; 55.2 per cent of primary metals; 51.6 per cent of nonmetallic mineral products; 46.7 per cent of metal fabricating; 39.2 per cent of textiles and clothing; 38.9 per cent of paper and allied industries; 31.3 per cent of food and beverages. It's little wonder that Canada sometimes feels like a kind of latter-day East India Company experiment, only this time the government is owned by U.S.-based MNCs.

The same feeling is beginning to raise the blood pressure of quite a few countries around the world. But doing something about it is a different matter, for some nations would literally go out of business if they tried to chase the MNCs from their domains. The process of "multinationalizing" has gone so far that the task of demultinationalizing seems almost insoluble. How would one go about dismantling, say, International Business Machines Corp. without dismantling a significant part of the Western world's political and economic structure? IBM had a gross income of $9.5 billion and net earnings of $1.3 billion in 1972. It hired 262,000 people in this country and abroad. It did business in 125 foreign countries. It has research and development laboratories in eight foreign countries and nineteen manufacturing plants in thirteen countries overseas. It has cross-licensing agreements with a dozen European and fifteen Japanese companies. Intricacy has become perhaps the MNCs' greatest defense.

The complexities of the MNCs have swallowed some of our old economic concepts with such a speedy gulp that we have hardly seen them disappear. One of these was that defense work (aside from the myth of national security) was good for employment—a veritable WPA made palatable by patriotism. But the multinationals exploded that illusion, for it cuts into their profits; American defense workers, after all, charge more than do the peasants abroad. And so McDonnell-Douglas Corp. farms out some of its missile contracts to Japanese workers, Lockheed also gives some of its F-104 Starfighter contracts to Japanese workers and Northrup Corp. contracts work on the F-5E fighter to Taiwan.

The operations of the MNCs are so complex that deceptive appearances have become the rule. Trade names no longer mean anything. As Andrew J. Biemiller, AFL-CIO lobbyist, recently pointed out: "A multinational corporation can produce components in widely separated plants in Korea, Taiwan and the United States, assemble the product in a plant on the Mexican side of the border and sell the goods in the United States—perhaps with a U.S. brand name." They not only can, but do. Gilbert E. Jones, chairman of the foreign division of IBM, recently recounted what he thought was a merry story to illustrate how the game is played. It seems that IBM was offering on the German market a computer made by Germans in IBM's German manufacturing plant. But IBM's major competitor, Siemens, a German company, "was trying to paint us to our German customers as being a United States company," whereas in fact IBM was more German than Siemens, for Siemens was peddling a "product made by RCA Company in the United States but sold by Siemens as a German computer."

The intricacies of multinational operations have also lifted the giant corporations above the ordinary reckoning of the tax collector. Their methods of cutting taxes, or ducking them altogether, are seemingly endless. In a September 1968, article on MNCs, *Fortune* noted a few of the techniques, including the juggling of intra-corporation sales prices ("subsidiaries can be instructed to set high prices on intra-corporate shipments to high-tax countries, low prices on those to low-tax countries"). The Internal Revenue Service seldom gets to look at details of the MNCs' foreign labor costs and productivity. Now some MNCs are engaging in barter to further confuse the IRS.

Many U.S. tax laws are written specifically to give windfalls to the MNCs. One such law permits the MNCs to "defer" the payment of taxes on profits made abroad until the money trickles back into the home treasury. But often the money never trickles back; it somehow "disappears" en route, and tax experts admit that deferral of taxes often means simply nonpayment. And of course all sorts of other perfectly legal tax gimmickry are available to the multinationals. Of prime importance among these is the use of foreign tax credits to cancel U.S. taxes. Whenever they pay taxes in a foreign country with an income tax base higher than that of the United States, the U.S.-based multinationals do not have to pay income tax at home. If a U.S.-based multinational earns $100 million in France and pays 50 per cent of this in taxes to France, the corporation can bring the other $50 million home tax free. It's this kind of credit, masterfully manipulated by the U.S. oil companies operating in the Mideast, that has resulted in the infamously low taxes paid by them in this country. For example, by depending heavily on Mideast "royalties" (a kind of taxation) to get them off the hook, Gulf Oil paid only 2.3 per cent of its net profits in 1971 to the U.S. Treasury in taxes; Standard of California paid 1.6 per cent. The eighteen largest oil companies earned more than $10 billion in 1971, and paid only 6.7 per cent of their net in federal income taxes. Foreign tax credits largely made it possible.

Attracted by the tax benefits overseas, as well as by the cheaper labor and lower operating costs available in many nations, U.S. multinationals have spread

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far beyond these shores. U.S. investment in plant and equipment abroad between 1960 and 1970 rose from $32 billion to $78 billion; in the same decade U.S.-based multinationals operating abroad increased the sales of their manufacturing affiliates from $23.6 billion to $76.8 billion. The foreign affiliates of U.S.-based MNCs do as thriving an export business as does the United States itself, and much of the affiliates' business is in competition with our own. Also, much of the overseas profit stays overseas and is invested in expanded factory facilities and sales forces. The MNCs claim that these activities, by developing jobs in foreign lands, raise the standard of living around the world—a global atmosphere from which the United States is bound to benefit, too.

There may be some basis for the claim, yet the U.S. Tariff Commission reports that the MNCs are not quite so benevolent as they seem. "In setting wage rates [overseas]," writes the commission, "the companies almost invariably approximate local standards—sometimes paying a little more, sometimes a little less—but they always show greater productivity than local firms, so that unit labor costs tend to be much lower than for all firms in the host country. Theoretically, the higher productivity of the foreign worker in the MNC-owned plant abroad should justify a higher wage than the national average for his trade or industry."

The happy interplay of taxes and wages, etc., was noted by *Fortune*: "When the multinational company operates in many different markets with varying labor conditions, market demands, money market rates, tax laws, etc., the corporation finds multiplying opportunities to buy cheap and sell dear, if it can closely coordinate all parts of its operation." Build TV sets in Japan or Taiwan, and sell in the United States—that's a guaranteed ticket to high profits.

To U.S. workmen, this presents a simple and chilling picture: jobs are vanishing and competitive foreign-made goods are appearing. They illustrate their fear by pointing to such actions as that taken by Litton Industries. Litton bought the Royal Typewriter Co., which had a plant in Hartford, Conn., where the hourly wage rate was $3.60, and a plant in Hull, England, where the hourly wage rate was $1.20. Explaining that 55 per cent of the cost of making a typewriter is in direct labor cost, Litton closed its Hartford plant, throwing 1,700 people out of work, and moved everything to Hull.

At this year's General Electric contract negotiations, fourteen representatives from the company's plants in six countries of South America, Europe and Africa will for the first time sit in as observers. Organized labor also notes that the United States has one of the highest unemployment rates of any industrial nation, that it has gone from a trade surplus of $7 billion in 1964 to a $7 billion trade deficit in 1972—and blames it all on unrestrained multinationalizing.

Is the villain that easily fingered? Unfortunately no government agency or private group of scholars has treated this enormous problem with the seriousness it deserves and the answers given to date cannot be trusted. Only relatively slapdash studies have been made, and they are heavily laced with special interests and hedged by politics. The U.S. Tariff Commission, adopting its usual pastime of fence-straddling on such matters, came up with a study that proved everything either side of the dispute wanted proved: yeah, under certain conditions you could say that the foreign investments of American firms has resulted in a net loss of 1.3 million jobs in this country; or, yeah, given certain premises, you could say that the foreign investments of U.S. multinationals has produced a net gain of half a million jobs in this country. Take your choice.

One of the most unsettling features of the present debate is that the MNCs and their spokesmen are so arrogant. It is quite clear that they feel so little threat from this insipid Congress that they do not even consider it necessary to respond courteously or seriously to Congressional questioning. When Donald Kendall, head of the multinational Pepsico and chairman of the Emergency Committee for American Trade (a league of MNCs set up to protect their turf), appeared before Ribicoff's Finance subcommittee on trade, he was asked if he had heard of any shoe manufacturing jobs going overseas because of cheaper labor there. Now, it happens that U.S. shoe workers have been yelling about this problem for four or five years, at least.

Ribicoff: "How about shoes?"
Kendall: "How about what?"
Ribicoff: "Shoes."
Kendall: "Shoes?"
Ribicoff: "Yes."

Kendall said he had never heard of the problem.

At the same hearings, Secretary of Commerce Frederick B. Dent put in a *pro forma* appearance. He was asked why the Administration favored a protective tariff on textiles but opposed tariffs to protect jobs in some other industries. Dent, a former textile industry executive, had the gall to reply that textiles deserved special treatment because of a "tradition" that "goes back to the days of the Venetians."

Aside from the overwhelming contempt they feel for a weak Congress, there are two reasons why the MNCs and their spokesmen feel safe in making such responses to legislators. First, they enjoy the much more powerful alliance of this Administration. White House adviser Peter Flanigan told the Senate Finance subcommittee that the activities of the MNCs met with the full approval of the Nixon crowd. At one point he became so expansively cocky that he revealed the Administration's —and doubtless also the MNCs'—attitude in a frightening way. He was asked how, if jobs keep going abroad, he thought this nation's industry could absorb the 20 million additional workers who are expected to enter the job market in the next ten years. Flanigan: "I would guess, Senator, that this is analogous to what has happened on our farms." Just as the number of operating family farms has shrunk dramatically in recent years, we should, he said, expect factory workers to be phased down. "We will not necessarily have the same proportion of our total work force in manufacturing any more than we would have thought it appropriate to keep the same proportion of our total work force on the farm." So where would the factory workers go? He had no

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ideas about that. And MNC executives who appeared before the subcommittee and were asked the same question were just as cheerfully noncommital.

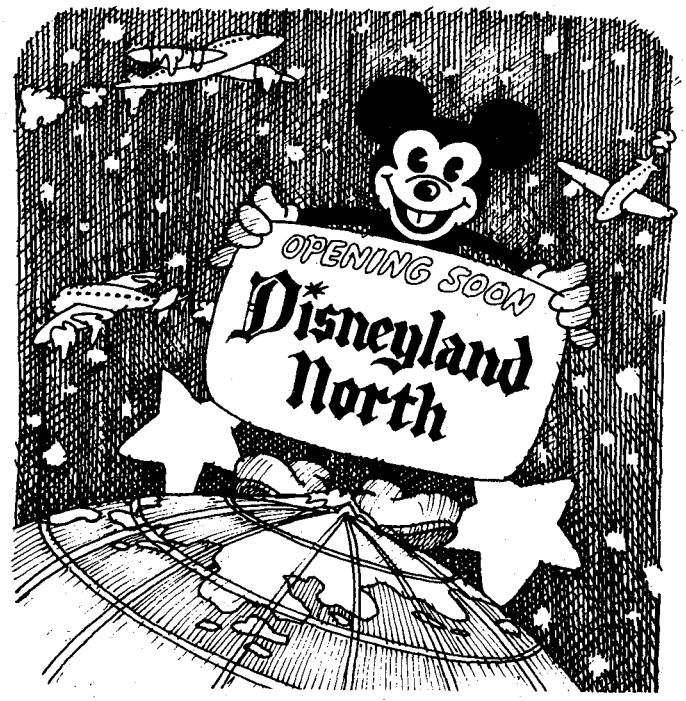
The second, and most dangerous, reason why the multinationals feel they are above being questioned and challenged at the level of Congress is that they believe themselves to be the hope of the future. They quite seriously believe in their own protestations of benevolence and that is the most frightening thing about them. They believe they are re-creating the world in their own image and they believe that nothing could be better for the world. "The men who manage the great multinational corporations," writes the U.S. Tariff Commission in its recent report, "are a confident group. Many see themselves as riding a wave of social change which they themselves are helping to create. But they have one great fear, which surfaces in every international investment decision that they make: the fear of political instability. Local wars and locally unstable regimes can be tolerated by the MNCs because at worst they produce losses small enough to be written off, sometimes to the advantage of company tax planners. However, should a situation ever arise in which the major countries, including the United States, acting in their own national interests, would feel it necessary to alter the fabric of international relationships in the West in such fashion that potential losses could not be borne by the firms, then the MNCs might try to flex latent political muscles "to prevent the conflict."

The literature of the MNCs supports the commission on this. Spokesmen for the corporate supergiants not only make no apology for pushing the trend toward giantism, they offer it indeed as a panacea for some of the world's most pressing problems. Carl A. Gerstacker, chairman of Dow Chemical, said at a White House conference in 1972:

> The multinational corporation has now become the new melting pot. It provides a medium in which creed and color and castes can (and indeed, *must*) mix, and work together, and produce together, solving problems together daily, working in harmony together for mutual benefits.
>
> The futurists are fairly unanimous in their feeling that the next twenty-five years will be characterized by vigorous, and sometimes virulent nationalism. This can be tempered to a large degree if we develop a countervailing force in the form of the world citizens now increasingly being nurtured in the multinational companies.

Far more useful than the United Nations in bringing peace to the world, says Gerstacker, are companies such as his: "It has been contended that the United Nations and kindred international organizations are the spawning ground of a new international breed—citizens of the world. But on the contrary, international organizations tend to reinforce feelings of nationalism because the bulk of the representatives in such organizations represent the interests of one particular and specific nation and nationalism. I firmly believe the *real* world citizens [his emphasis] are coming out of the companies that have branches in every nation and who are at home in every nation."

Looking to the point of perfection, as the multinationalist judges perfection, Gerstacker sees the time ultimately when there will not be multinational or international companies "as we know them today, but what we might call 'anational' companies—companies without any nationality, belonging to all nationalities. We generally conceive of the multinational company as one



Mike Smollin; Elements

having a fixed nationality (that of the parent company) but operating in many nations. With the blossoming of a true world economy these multinational bees, whether they are American or British, German or French, Russian or Japanese, will be establishing more hives in the farther fields. . . . They will tend for many reasons, political and economic, to become nationless companies."

And then Gerstacker reached a rhapsodic point in his speech: "I have long dreamed of buying an island owned by no nation, and of establishing the World Headquarters of the Dow company on the truly neutral ground of such an island, beholden to no nation or society. If we were located on such truly neutral ground we could then really operate in the United States as U.S. citizens, in Japan as Japanese citizens, and in Brazil as Brazilians, rather than being governed in prime by the laws of the United States." This is no pipe dream with Dow. Gerstacker said that the only reason they hadn't tried to do something like this was "simply because the tax problem is insurmountable. We would have to pay a tax on everything we're worth."

An equally simplistic view of the multinational corporation as peacemaker is taken by David W. Ewing, a Harvard business professor and senior associate editor of *The Harvard Business Review*. One can find his philosophies expressed, fittingly enough, in such journals as *Aramco World Magazine*, the house organ of the Arabian-American Oil Co., which dominates oil production in Saudi Arabia. In an article, "The Corporation as

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Peacemonger," Ewing concedes that "it would be naive to deny that major corporations—Krupp and Mitsubishi come most readily to mind—have had key roles in militaristic ventures, or suggest that it can't happen here or again," but he goes on to paint the typical super-giant corporation's coat of arms as a dove over crossed olive branches. He sees the multinational corporation as the direct descendant of such pious outfits as "the Catholic Church, the International Red Cross, and transnational agencies such as the World Court, the United Nations Food and Agricultural Organization and UNICEF," though superior to all these in effectiveness.

When Ewing comes down to the specifics of corporate peacemongering, however, he peters out, falling back on relatively trivial Peace Corps-type stuff: Firestone Tire & Rubber showing Liberians how to raise chickens commercially; Quaker Oats developing a cheap high-protein diet in Colombia; a $300,000 grant (not even a drop in the petroleum bucket) by Jersey Standard to teach Venezuelan slum kids, etc.

Ewing and others who see the beauties of MNCs also lay great weight to the theory of "peace through elbow-rubbing." In an article in *The Harvard Business Review*, May-June 1972, he points out that "the 300 employees in the London offices of Esso Europe come from 16 countries in addition to the United States." And in Aramco's magazine, he writes, "A good example of the multinational corporation is Unilever. Although legally an Anglo-Dutch company, Unilever operates in nearly sixty countries and maintains research centers in thirty-three countries. The head offices in London and Rotterdam are staffed with managers from ten European countries as well as from Australia, Canada, Africa and India. So international is the managerial function that in Ghana one of the managers is a citizen of Ceylon, and in the Solomon Islands the management team includes a manager from Ghana."

The corporate peacemonger theory is a continuation of the old idea that if you exchange enough culture and technology, everyone will feel so much like everyone else, nobody will want to fight anybody. A more pragmatic part of the theory, however, rests on faith in profit. In *American Business Abroad*, a book highly regarded by the multinationalists, Charles P. Kindleberger writes: "In the long run it seems likely that the international corporation will develop a cadre of international executives, parallel, it may be noted, to the international civil servants of the United Nations, the European Economic Community, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization of a few years back, who are mobile. This staff of executives is likely to be committed to the aggrandizement of the corporation, and of their own incomes and stock options, which will overwhelm any tendency in the multinational corporation for separate subsidiaries to behave like national corporations. The Canadian 'presence' in the management of subsidiaries of foreign corporations in Canada, whether through management or directors, is not likely in the long run to prevail in favor of Canadian national objectives over the requirements of efficiency."

"Consortium banks" are to Ewing an especially hopeful force. "Inevitably," writes Ewing, "such international alliances lead the personnel involved to take a dim view of militarism. Creative *relationships* between nations become more important to a consortium's management than the individual nations themselves. I recall a revealing comment made earlier this year by David Rockefeller, chairman of the Chase Manhattan Bank, which belongs to a consortium. Chase, he said, infuriated the Arabs by functioning as a trustee of the Israeli bond issue, yet in 1970, also provoked Israeli wrath by urging President Nixon to improve its relations with the Arab world and by maintaining financial ties with Arab countries. 'In international banking,' Rockefeller said resignedly, 'you often get involved this way.' "

Like many other noble theories, that of peace through international profiteering has a number of mammoth defects. Perhaps the most obvious one is that what these fellows are talking about is simply another form of utopia—a kind of international brotherhood based on self-discipline encouraged by greed. There are, however, two significant differences between most of the other global peace theories and the multinational corporation pitch. First of all, most of the others are quickly put down as kookiness; the MNC approach, perhaps because it appeals to the pocketbook instead of the groin or heart, is taken seriously. And second, whereas most of the other global peace theories look upon national governments as something to avoid or ignore, the MNC approach is to accept governments as a necessary hangover from an inefficient past and to *use* them as a kind of liaison office in the corporate structure. Without the intermediation of a government, how would the corporations go about overcoming public resistance to pollution, for example? Or how would the corporations manipulate labor forces? In their place, governments are necessary to multinational corporations. Gerstacker, for example, suggests that the U.S. Government should subsidize American corporations to set up their operations in less-developed countries—thus taking the risk out of their global expansion. "What I mean," said Gerstacker, "is that if Bolivia needs plastic materials, the United States should not provide Bolivia a credit with which to buy such materials. It should negotiate the establishment of a Bolivian plastics plant using American industrial know-how and working with an American firm qualified to provide such know-how on a continuing, long-term basis," and furthermore, the American corporation should be "supported when and if necessary and appropriate by the U.S. Government."

Using the government as a handmaiden in foreign profiteering is, of course, nothing new for U.S. corporations. But one needn't go back to the days when U.S. diplomatic relations with Mexico, for example, were dominated by efforts to help U.S. oil and mining companies. In 1960, when Indonesia began cracking down on a consortium made up of Standard of California, Texaco, Jersey Standard, Socony Mobil and Shell, President Kennedy and the State Department came to their rescue, working out a profit-sharing arrangement with Indonesia that would keep the oil companies in business in that country. American foreign aid underwrote the

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entire investment of a new British Shell and Jersey Standard refinery in Thailand. Under direct orders from then Under Secretary of State George Ball, U.S. diplomats pressured Congo into granting a refinery license to Jersey Standard. In recent years, Nixon has practically turned the State Department over to the oil companies to run errands for them in Russia and the Mideast. And so on around the globe. The oil majors take this assistance for granted—to such an extent that sometimes officials like John G. McLean, chief executive officer of Continental Oil Co., publicly complain when the State Department doesn't hop to their bidding fast enough. One reason why they feel justified in using the government as a flunky is simply that they feel superior to the government in their knowledge of what's going on in the world. As one oil executive told Murray Seeger of *The Washington Post*, "The big international companies have always made a big impact on the State Department. That is justified—the companies provide information that the government can't get any other way, especially from the Middle East."

For the most part, however, it appears that the multinationals have decided to assume a lower political profile whenever possible. Working intimately with the State Department is one thing; but working intimately with the CIA—as International Telephone and Telegraph apparently did in 1970 to forestall the election (or, if necessary, overthrow the regime) of Marxist President Salvador Allende in Chile is frowned upon within the MNC fraternity. If the multinationals are going to take over, they must adhere to the usual rules of public relations, and that includes keeping the people soothed and unafraid of what they are up to.

Last year a group of *New York Times* financial writers made a survey of activities in the MNC world and found that the giants were feeling somewhat more on the defensive than in earlier years, that the prevailing attitude was "in sharp contrast with a past era of 'economic imperialism,' when international corporations such as United Fruit virtually owned many countries," and that the politically powerful MNCs were exercising their power "with more circumspection than in the past." No longer were they whistling for gunboats. Now they were playing the game of partnership. The *Times* reporters noted this trend surfacing in such public relations terms as " 'Japan, Inc.,' a reference to the close collaboration of government and industry that has been a dynamic force in Japan's economic upsurge. Trade competition and regional blocs seem to foreshadow also a 'U.S.A., Inc.,' and a 'Europe, Inc.' " Moreover, multinationals are sprucing up their image, the *Times* reported, by working through the International Chamber of Commerce to draw "what might be called a 'code of good behavior' for both governments and multinationals in their treatment of each other."

If one is willing to consider seriously the proposal of achieving peace through the international pursuit of private profit one can still be forgiven for quibbling on a few points. For one thing, there is the multinationals' assumption that nationalism is bad. Nationalism certainly has been the basis for some wars and many unnecessary economic disputes. But what kind of internationalism do the multinationals intend to put in its place? The kind that already is seeing the greasy blessings of Kentucky Fried Chicken being dispensed in London and U.S.-style condominiums ruining the skyline of Paris? Are they speaking of the kind of internationalism which has already made the Volga, the Danube and the Hudson interchangeably polluted?

We might also bear in mind some of the "internationalism" of the giant corporations in the past.

Though generally an apologist for corporate stupidities, Adolf A. Berle, Jr., writing in *The 20th Century Capitalist Revolution*, did concede that some multinational executives were rather slow to see the dangers of Nazism. Recalling the Nazi fifth column set up in South American business establishments, Berle wrote of how the U.S. Government asked our corporations to break off relations with the Hitler underground and of how "one famous corporation objected, and its vice president was sent to Washington to argue with the Under Secretary of State. His argument was direct and simple. His corporation, he said, was not in politics of any kind. If the United States Government wished to have a quarrel with the Nazi government of Germany, that was the government's privilege; but his corporation in its foreign operations could not be involved, and did not feel bound to accommodate itself to American policy expressed in a 'moral embargo.' "

When multinational executives protest the moral embargoes set up by politicians, are they doing so from the plateau of a higher morality? Not at all; and they don't pretend to be. It is entirely a profit matter. They operate with notable flexibility, as a matter of fact, when it comes down to particulars; on one occasion they will argue loftily of their internationalism, but on other occasions are only too happy to proclaim their tolerance of nationalism. In a recent *Wall Street Journal* advertisement, Textron Inc. grandly proclaimed: " 'Made In The World—By People.' That's the stamp we'd like to put on our products. And the one we'd like to see on everybody else's. Because at Textron we believe we should think in terms of one worldwide economy." Still, as Andrew Biemiller pointed out, that doesn't quite square with Textron's willingness to take so many nationalistic dollars from the Pentagon that it always ranks in the top fifteen defense contractors. It sounds very sweet to hear Dow's Gerstacker talk about the "melting pot" MNCs that are "a medium in which creed and color and castes can (and indeed *must*) mix, and work together"—but that's for the credit of the future; to get the cash of the present the MNCs are willing to tolerate something else. U.S.-based multinationals have invested heavily in South Africa; as their investments increased over the past twenty years, apartheid worsened. Would the MNCs like to end this racism?

And so it goes. What it comes down to is this: the MNCs, a law unto themselves, insist on being accepted at their own self-serving evaluation. They want the public to believe that simply because they regard their activities as being a force for peace, they should be permitted to expand without regulation, inquiry or con-

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trol. Echoes of the problem are heard from time to time at the U.N., but it will be light years before the MNCs are regulated by treaties or international conventions; trade unions are only now beginning to work out plans for joint action in dealing with corporations that play workers of one nation against those of another. The fact that their activities may be a force making for an increasingly integrated world economy should not blind us to the fact that the MNCs currently exercise vast power without public accountability.

Even granting that they may be a force for peace—despite past history and recent disclosures of ITT operations in Chile—a number of questions remain: what kind of peace? maintained in whose interest? by what means? with what social, political and economic consequences? The MNCs have never been given a mandate to function as international economic stabilizers or guardians of the peace; these are functions they assert, not functions delegated to them. The immediate problem is to launch a comprehensive in-depth analysis of their far-ranging intricate operations and the consequences thereof. The curtain-lifting inquiries now under way will at best merely set the stage for the large-scale continuing investigation that should follow. □

THE TRUTH ABOUT DESERTERS

ROBERT K. MUSIL

Mr. Musil, a former Army captain active in the GI movement at Fort Benjamin Harrison, was discharged as a conscientious objector. He is associate secretary of the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors, an agency for military and draft counseling, and co-editor of CCCO News Notes.

Myths abound about deserters. A colorful Howard Johnson's place mat warns diners on the New Jersey Turnpike that picking up hitchhikers can be dangerous—many of them are AWOLs. Even liberal Sen. Philip A. Hart characterized AWOLs at the Kennedy hearings on the draft and amnesty last spring as "guys who take off with the company cash."

In the growing debate over amnesty in the new cease-fire period, everyone is getting into the anti-AWOL act. In a carefully orchestrated media campaign, Administration spokesmen, including columnist William S. White, White House special counsel Charles W. Colson, and speechwriter Patrick S. Buchanan, have tried to minimize the number of deserters and to label them "malingerers, opportunists, criminals and cowards." Even the usually moderate editorial page of *The New York Times*, in discussing amnesty (February 23), draws "a sharp distinction between them [draft resisters] and those who deserted the Armed Forces."

On the surface, those who degrade deserters seem to have a solid case. They point out that unlike draft evaders, AWOLs have already taken an oath to serve their country; many of them have criminal records, or are fleeing prosecution. They add that legal avenues of redress of grievances were open to them. Finally, and most significantly, they claim that the motivations of deserters were neither conscientious nor pure. In support of this final point, one of great rhetorical strength in the amnesty debate, they often allude to or quote Pentagon studies from the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Manpower and Reserve Affairs [OASD(M&RA)] that purport to show that only 5 per cent of all deserters were motivated by anti-war feelings.

These myths are held for various reasons. Most of the public is simply ignorant about AWOLs. They rely on World War II clichés and stereotypes of the bad guy slinking away from his buddies under fire. Or, lacking the data or background to challenge them, they simply accept official explanations. Some politicians inadvertently add fuel to the myths when, hoping to appear reasonable and pragmatic, they speak about amnesty for draft resisters, but neglect deserters in order to gain support.

The current Administration campaign to disparage deserters and perpetuate misconceptions is another matter. [See "What Nixon Forgets: Congress Bestows Amnesty" by Harrop A. Freeman, *The Nation*, March 26.] By portraying the number of deserters at large as insignificant, and impugning their motives as confused at best, but more likely as dishonorable and criminal, the Administration hopes in one blow to discredit its amnesty opposition, justify its war policies, and cover up long-standing abuses in the armed forces.

In this climate, we need a fresh, hard look at deserters. The facts are difficult to come by, but they clearly explode all of the old myths. First, it must be emphasized that the term "deserter" is simply a convenience. It is used by the military to refer to those persons who have been absent without leave for a period of thirty days or more, been dropped from the rolls of their unit, and then *administratively* classified as deserters for purposes of record keeping, notification of the FBI, etc. No person absent without leave is legally a deserter until convicted of that offense under the Uniform Code of Military Justice. Desertion, as an offense, requires an *intent* to remain away from the military permanently, and is rather difficult to prove. Thus Pentagon statistics about deserters refer only to those persons who have been dropped from their unit rolls, and do not include a far larger number of persons who at any given time are AWOL for less than one month.

The number of deserters during the Vietnam era is staggering and is probably underreported. From fiscal 1965 through early fiscal 1973 (August 1, 1964-December 31, 1972) the Pentagon reports 495,689 cases of desertion, not counting the Coast Guard. Of these cases, the Pentagon claims that more than 90 per cent have returned to military control (either by apprehension or

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voluntarily) and that only 32,718 are still at large. Even accepting Pentagon figures for the moment, we can quickly understand the current Administration attempts to vilify deserters. In addition to the well-known GI movement, another significant segment of the armed forces (about 5 per cent of the Army and Marines) protested the war the best way they knew how—by leaving.

If one considers that in 1971 in the Army alone, 79,000 soldiers, or nearly six full divisions (7.3 per cent of all Army personnel), deserted, the problem becomes clear. This desertion rate was more than triple the highest rate during the Korean War. It was also much higher than any rate recorded for World War II, when a greater percentage of U.S. troops were in combat zones and there were no one-year rotations. If it is kept in mind that low-ranking soldiers and those in combat-arms units are most likely to desert (only about one in ten GIs engage in combat), it is evident that in some Army units desertion reached *epidemic* proportions during the war in Vietnam.

If one adds the short-term AWOL rate in the Army (17.7 per cent in 1971) to the desertion rate (there is some overlap for those who had multiple AWOLs or went AWOL before deserting), nearly one-quarter of all GIs walked away from their units for periods ranging from a couple of weeks to years. What were they escaping from? Given the unpopularity of the war at home, the reports of maltreatment and mismanagement of personnel throughout the Vietnam era, a massive GI movement, and desertion rates far higher than for any previous war, one would assume that desertion was related to anti-war feeling. In fact, the rates match escalation and de-escalation in Indochina in an almost perfect bell curve. For instance, in 1972, when the air war was escalated and received more national attention, Air Force desertion rates doubled from the year before.

Not so, says the Pentagon. The official Department of Defense Information Guidance Series claims:

> It is human nature that the grass somewhere else sometimes appears greener. Since the beginning of military forces, the urge to "go over the hill" has been more than some could resist. The reasons are also as old as man: financial or family troubles, romantic involvements, earlier misconduct that led to disciplinary action, inability to adjust to military life or family pressures before going overseas. . . . Only a small percentage . . . of the deserters who have fled to a foreign country in recent years have been motivated by political reasons or anti-Vietnam feeling.

Col. Victor A. DeFiori, the Pentagon AWOL expert and spokesman, points to the now widely quoted studies from his office at OASD(M&RA) that show that "only 5 per cent" of those who desert are motivated by anti-war feelings. The Pentagon studies deserve close analysis, since they are the only official studies of desertion available. The methodology, assumptions and interpretation of findings used by the Department of Defense would cause any self-respecting sociologist to go AWOL from the profession.

Although many, if not a majority, of those who desert remain within the United States by going "underground" in large cities or even in their home towns, the samples used in the studies are based on servicemen who are known to have deserted or have attempted to desert to foreign countries. Maj. Gen. Leo S. Benade, Deputy Assistant Secretary of Defense, added confusion about the source of the studies when he testified at the Kennedy hearings that the surveys were based on 660 of those returned to military control from overseas. This kind of questioning in the face of penalties would have been enough to discredit the study. In appendices to the hearings, however, Benade disclosed that he had been in error, and that the motivation studies were based only on reports from commanders in the field who estimate a man's motivation for leaving through an investigation of statements, interviews with friends, etc. These reports are then filed with OASD(M&RA) on Form DD-N(A) 1039. These reports have been required only since December 24, 1970, and are entitled "U.S. Military Absentees Who Have Placed or Have Attempted to Place Themselves Under Control of a Foreign Nation to Protest Against the U.S. or Commit Disloyal Acts." Thus, given the method of collecting data—the compilation of estimates of motivation by field commanders—and realizing that such information became desirable only as political exiles received attention, the Pentagon studies can be seen as a collection of unsupported impressions. They are not even as solid as the answers would have been from those returning to military control—the method presumed by many persons to have been used after General Benade's testimony.

Given all these inadequacies, the Pentagon studies still reveal some astonishing conclusions. Only one-third of the sample had had previous "disciplinary or administrative action" taken against them. And, it must be remembered, upward of 80 per cent of all military courts-martial are for the "crime" of going AWOL. Other military crimes include such vague acts as "disrespect to a superior officer," or the famous catchall of military justice, "all other acts prejudicial to good order and discipline." This provision, Article 134 of the Uniform Code of Military Justice, caught many an anti-war GI in its disciplinary dragnet, and only recently was struck down as unconstitutionally vague by the Washington Court of Appeals.

The reasons for desertion offered in the survey break down as follows: 47.5 per cent, no reason stated; 20 per cent, aliens, or to live with an alien spouse; 10 per cent, under charges or investigation, or escaped from confinement; 5 per cent, Vietnamese War; 4 per cent, family, financial, or personal; 2.5 per cent, claimed C.O. or pacifistic beliefs; 3.5 per cent, inability to adjust to military life; 5 per cent, fear of being killed; 7 per cent, miscellaneous.

If we neglect the 20 per cent aliens as an untypical distortion due to sampling, the Pentagon either does not know the motivations of nearly half the deserters, or they supplied reasons that, to the average mind, are clearly anti-war or anti-military. ("Inability to adjust" might be better translated as, "My drill sergeant was driving me crazy," or "I just had to get out of the Army.") Only 4 per cent are listed under the widely trumpeted and "time-honored" personal reasons. In short, even if the meth-

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odology of the Pentagon's study were sound, its conclusions are virtually useless as an indicator of deserter motivation. If anything, they show that GIs did *not* desert simply because "the grass is greener." Privately, Colonel DeFiori admits that motivations are extremely difficult to determine, especially on the basis of such field reports. He adds that the attempt to distinguish between the motivations of draft evaders and deserters is bound to be a futile exercise.

Department of Defense statistics on the numbers of deserters are presented with an equal aura of infallibility, but are equally suspect. On January 1, 1972, OASD (M&RA) released untotaled figures showing the number of deserters from fiscal 1959 through the first few months of fiscal 1972. These were broken down into armed forces members dropped from units and returned to military control by service and year. The figures for those dropped from fiscal 1965-early fiscal 1972 added up to 421,104, while those returned, when added up, came to only 286,625. These figures would indicate that as of January 1972, there were 134,479 deserters at large.

When questioned about this discrepancy, Lt. Col. James Heinbaugh of OASD(M&RA) stated, "That chart is now marked, 'not to be used, inaccurate.' We no longer give the breakdown figures by year for numbers returned to military control. You have the last chart of that type." The chart, however, exactly matches current figures from DOD on numbers *dropped* from unit rolls, which are still given by year. Only the numbers *returned* and the numbers *still at large* are no longer offered by year. They are available only in summary. The conclusions to be drawn are obvious and ominous. Either Pentagon record-keeping from 1958-72 was inaccurate to the tune of 100,000 deserters, or the current figures of those returned to military control have been manipulated to hide a massive problem and serve political ends.

von Hedemann

Even if one believes the notion of previous book-keeping errors and accepts the current figure of 32,718 deserters at large, that figure, too, is open to serious question. The Pentagon likes to pretend that it has a perfect record of the more than 8 million Vietnam-era GIs. This is simply not the case: the recent return of a POW who had been officially buried is but one graphic example of the fallibility of Pentagon records.

Jon Landau, staff attorney for the Central Committee for Conscientious Objectors (CCCO) in Philadelphia, has handled countless returning AWOL cases and has been in touch with other attorneys and counselors. He states, "I'm personally aware of at least twenty cases where returning AWOLs gave themselves up only to find no personnel records of them at all. Other times, the base where a serviceman returns has to communicate with a man's previous unit for information, even though it's supposed to be in Washington." Other military counselors report similar experiences, including numbers of men who were never reported AWOL at all. Rev. L. William Yolton of the Presbyterian Church Emergency Ministry on Conscience and War, says, "Just recently, I counseled with a young woman who was receiving a dependent's allowance the whole time her husband was in Canada." Given incidents like these, and the general unreliability of Pentagon paperwork in the war years, from civilians at My Lai listed as "128 VC killed" through GIs sent home to await orders which they never received, the Pentagon figure of 32,718 deserters at large must be seen as a rather shaky *minimum*. And, if the suddenly withdrawn records are correct, there may be 134,000 or more deserters still at large. Similarly, the number of deserters reported by the Pentagon to be in foreign countries is far larger than the 2,705 or so currently claimed. This number counts only those persons whose whereabouts are *officially known* to the Department of Defense through investigation and intelligence services. Obviously, large numbers of deserters have been remiss in reporting changes of address.

Whatever the true number of deserters still at large —and they are great enough to cause high-ranking heads to roll in any other army—why do so many service personnel go AWOL? Those in a position to know best are the deserters themselves, other GIs, and the military counselors who have maintained a flourishing practice during recent years. Attorney Robert S. Rivkin, author of *GI Rights and Army Justice* and *The Rights of Servicemen*, served in legal services as an enlisted man and currently defends GIs in Germany for the Lawyers Military Defense Committee of the ACLU. He writes, "Experience has taught us that many GIs are away without leave because of something the military did or failed to do."

Thus, in addition to anti-war feelings that are prevalent in most returning AWOLs seen by military counselors, many GIs were finally motivated to leave because of lack of proper discharges, physical, psychological or racial abuse, improper medical treatment, unfair disciplinary actions, and other failings of the massive and impersonal military bureaucracy. Their individual stories vary, but most originally enlisted in the armed forces, come from working-class families, and do not articulate their feelings well. The main difference between them and the middle-class draft resisters is that often they object only *after* their direct experience of war or life in the armed forces. By then, their legal options and access to outside

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support and expertise are severely limited. With only a drill sergeant, or unfriendly commander, or career chaplain to turn to, they leave. Like so many refugees, they have voted with their feet.

Take Archie, a Memphis youth recruited into the Marines despite periods of blacking out and a hearing impairment. At boot camp, Archie was continually beaten and abused because drill sergeants thought he was faking when he passed out. So he went AWOL. Finally picked up by the FBI, he was sent to the Philadelphia Naval Base, where he was thrown into the brig despite a physician's recommendation. There he blacked out again, was beaten and thrown under a scalding shower by a guard for his "faking." He was then hospitalized and received death threats if he talked. Finally, Archie was discharged as "undesirable."

Or Tom, a black Marine from Philadelphia who had to quit high school to help his mother, on welfare, raise nine other children. He joined the Marines to earn money. When his wife began having complications with her pregnancy, Tom went to his drill sergeant for help, but got none. It was then that he left Camp Lejeune to support his mother and expectant wife. Someone in his neighborhood thought it would be "best" if he were reported. It wasn't long before the FBI picked him up and returned him to face general court-martial charges.

Stuart is another to whom legal redress was unavailable or improperly denied. He slowly developed conscientious objection to war and requested discharge when his ship at New London, Conn. was armed with nuclear-tipped missiles. The *Welsh* decision broadening C.O. status to persons whose objections were not religious had yet to be handed down, so Stuart could not qualify for discharge. Like many others he faced an almost impossible choice of up to five years of hard labor in a military prison or violating his conscience. He left.

Although Louie had applied for C.O. status from his local draft board (he was turned down) and had been part of an apprentice program in a machine shop (worth a 2-A deferment), he was drafted and sent to Fort Dix. Objecting to war in the first place and feeling that he shouldn't be there at all, Louie soon left Fort Dix and returned to his home town near Harrisburg, Pa. He tried to begin life again, but eventually the FBI began to close in. Louie was lucky; he came to a military counselor who discovered that, like many young men, he had been illegally drafted. A federal judge freed Louie on a writ of *habeas corpus* within a matter of hours. But he and his young wife could never regain the time lost at Fort Dix, or the months of hell as the FBI closed in.

Scott is typical of the many Vietnam veterans who deserted after they got back to the States. (The problem was so severe that in 1971 the Army quickly dropped its one experiment with allowing Vietnam GIs a mid-tour leave to the continental United States. He had enlisted in the Marines from Peoria. Soon he was fighting along the DMZ where his position was overrun the first week. Scott has a formidable collection of medals to show for his bravery, but as he fought he became sickened by killing, especially the senseless destruction and killing of civilians by U.S. troops. He turned to his chaplain for help, explaining that he could no longer kill, and wanted out. But he was simply told to stick it out; no mention of C.O. discharges. Like many soldiers in Vietnam, he turned to drugs for escape and became dependent. Upon his return to the States, he again turned to a chaplain for help with his drug problem and his feelings against war, but was merely advised to pray. In desperation, he went AWOL and sought drug counseling. He shook his habit, and then turned to military counselors for help. Despite counseling and an excellent war record, he, too, received an undesirable discharge. Even if a GI is "lucky" enough upon his return to receive an undesirable discharge in lieu of court-martial and stockade time, he is branded for life.

Dan was thrown into the Camp Pendleton brig on a minor charge. Like a number of prisoners there in the late 1960s, he was beaten and hanged by his wrists on a fence for long periods of time. He developed severe psychological problems and went AWOL to Canada. Like many deserters in Canada, he was unable to make it in a strange country and returned to military control despite his hatred and fear of stockades. He too was discharged as undesirable. Since then, he has bounced from one menial job to another and continually threatens suicide. He is barred from VA benefits and very few employers will hire him. Even fewer people seem to care about his days hanging from the fence at Camp Pendleton.

All of these men should have been easily and honorably discharged when their problems first arose, but like most AWOLs they were the unfortunate victims of a policy of retaining personnel at any cost. Although the number of administrative discharges rose rapidly in 1971 as the armed forces tried to reach the reduced force levels ordered by Congress, and have shown a rapid increase in the Navy recently as racial problems remain unresolved, proper discharges were given in miserly fashion. [See "Administrative Discharges: The 'Less Than Honorable' Solution" by John Grady, *The Nation*, February 19.]

One instructor at the Army's Adjutant General's Corps School at Fort Benjamin Harrison, Ind., where personnel officers are trained, bragged that while stationed at Fort Sill, Okla. "he had never let a single discharge get through his office." His attitude—that most GIs seeking discharge are merely shirkers—is not atypical, despite regulations that provide for discharge in a number of clear-cut cases. But even these provisions are not publicized by the armed forces, and are often unknown to GIs.

In order to fill this gap, CCCO had to print and distribute free to GIs thousands of booklets on each of the five types of discharge. Even then, despite a Supreme Court ruling, *Flower* v. *U.S.*, permitting leafletting on open bases, the Army went to court to bar distribution of pamphlets that merely explain the legal rights to discharge. Only recently was the Army overruled in *CCCO* v. *Fellows*, and distribution of information on discharges permitted.

The results of these policies have been disastrous. For example, the discharge available for persons who become C.O.s *after* entry to active duty is not even mentioned in the curriculum at the Adjutant General's School, and most GIs still believe, incorrectly, that it is impossible

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to get out if you did not declare C.O. status to your draft board. Despite this, more than 8,000 GIs applied for C.O. discharge, while thousands more were intimidated after an initial inquiry by being told no such provisions existed. Or they found that their paperwork mysteriously was lost or arbitrarily denied at the local level. Until federal court intervention in the process in 1969, almost all applications that reached the Pentagon were turned down. Thousands of other GIs, of course, never qualified at all because the courts still do not recognize objection to a particular war. Many of these GIs, faced with harsh sentences in military stockades, or violating their consciences, simply went AWOL.

The record is similar with other discharges for erroneous induction/enlistment, hardship, medical or psychological problems. Dr. Curtis Tarr testified before Senator Kennedy's hearings on the draft in 1972 that large numbers of men had been illegally drafted. The Gates Commission, among others, reported that before recent pay raises, many GIs were destitute and living on welfare. Dr. Peter Bourne has written that the psychological stresses of basic training are even more severe than those experienced in combat. And, of course, reports of racial abuse, stockade beatings, spinal meningitis, and lack of medical care were rampant. Peter Barnes observes in *Pawns: The Plight of the Citizen Soldier* that "every week at Fort Dix, New Jersey, the Army's major Northeastern training base, there are an average of four suicide attempts. . . . Nine actual suicides occurred at Fort Dix in 1968."

It is no wonder that the Nixon Administration is trying to discredit deserters. To acknowledge their true numbers and their real motivations would require an admission that massive numbers of ordinary, enlisted GIs rejected the war, and that countless thousands were denied humane treatment and legal discharges by a military that felt it could keep its troops in the field only by fear and force. If the truth were known about deserters, the Administration might be forced to consider sweeping changes in military justice and personnel policies —including, not insignificantly, the right to dissent from war, and the right to quit one's job. □

NEW CHAVEZ STRATEGY

ARIZONA FACES A RECALL

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Phoenix

Gubernatorial recall elections are as rare as buffaloes in the American political landscape. So the fact that a farm worker-led coalition in Arizona is about to force the first such election in forty years, and the second ever, is a remarkable event.

But far more is at stake in Arizona than the election itself. What began as a protest against a farm labor law has evolved into a campaign to create a new political force in a conservative Republican stronghold.

The recall was sparked last May by Gov. Jack Williams' refusal to veto a law which prohibits boycotts and strikes during harvests—both major weapons of the United Farm Workers Union—and limits the union's power to organize in the fields. Since Cesar Chavez dramatically initiated the recall drive with a twenty-four-day fast, environmentalists, women's rights groups and educators have joined the effort. On March 26, the recall forces filed petitions with 150,000 signatures, far above the 103,000 required to force an election.

In many respects the strength of this unique coalition is still nebulous, and its political power can probably be ascertained only after the election. With legal complications threatening months of delay, recall forces are now focusing their resources on organizing for 1974.

Achievement of the initial political base was greatly aided by a walking tour of the state by the recall's designated candidate for governor, Gerald Pollock, 40, a liberal Phoenix attorney and twice unsuccessful candidate for the House against Rep. John J. Rhodes, a Republican. Pollock's attacks on Governor Williams have emphasized the Governor's "lack of leadership" in areas of welfare, environment, taxes and education.

It is the hope of many recall proponents that ultimately, when the movement attains greater strength, it will merge with the Democratic Party and assume a leadership role. Others feel that working as a separate liberal force at the perimeter of the party enables the movement to remain a catalyst for change while not directly aligning itself with the political establishment. Retaining the union identification, it is argued, would permit money to be raised outside the state through the union.

At present, the conservative and moderate wing which dominates the state Democratic Party views the recall as almost catastrophic to the party. The recall's response has been that for years there has been no Democratic Party to destroy, and that they are simply starting from point zero and building upward. The party has fallen into near lethargy in the face of Republican inroads, and the recall movement has consistently confronted Republican roadblocks through court and legislative battles.

Republican opposition has been strong and well publicized by the state's dominant daily newspaper tandem, the *Arizona Republic* and the *Phoenix Gazette*, an aggressively conservative press run by Eugene C. Pulliam. The Governor has said almost nothing publicly about the recall, but has allowed Republican surrogates to carry the ball. "Here you have a governor not popular in his own party," says Herbert Ely, a Phoenix attorney

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and former state Democratic chairman, "yet the Republicans have one of the best disciplined and best organized machines in the country, and they will stick together."

The extent of the opposition is apparent in the efforts of the recorder of Maricopa County, Paul Marston, an energetic Republican, to forestall Democratic voter registration by the recall forces. A 200-question test with an 80-page course manual required of all potential deputy registrars has aptly been termed "a throwback to the literacy tests of the Deep South."

In February the Arizona Superior Court agreed and ruled that Marston had to forgo the test and appoint deputy registrars as their names were submitted by the county party chairman. The case has been appealed to the state Supreme Court which has now taken it under advisement.

The court test proved through testimony by an expert on reading levels that the exam was well above the educational average. One question, for instance, states: "If a deputy registrar fails to register anyone within 60 days, he is guilty of A) Misfeasance B) Malfeasance C) Nonfeasance D) None of the above." College graduates and competent former deputy registrars who had received good or excellent "report cards" from Marston concerning their registration efforts failed the exam. The passing grade, which was determined on the basis of scores by paid members of Marston's staff, was changed from 85 to 90 per cent. As a result only fifty deputy registrars have been appointed at present, compared to 1,200 at this time last year.

After receiving telegrams from twenty-two Senators and Congressmen, including Sens. Edward Kennedy, (D., Mass.,) Walter Mondale, (D., Minn.) and Alan Cranston, (D., Calif.), urging an investigation into Marston's office, the U.S. Justice Department ordered a Federal Bureau of Investigation probe into the situation. The Justice Department has yet to determine whether a full-scale investigation is warranted. Rep. Don Edwards, (D., Calif.), head of the House subcommittee on voting rights, has promised a Congressional investigation if Justice fails to act.

The Arizona legislature, a Republican stronghold, attempted to block a recall election by changing the rules in the middle of the game. They tried to pass a bill regulating recall elections with an emergency retroactive clause which could have had the effect of invalidating most of the signatures on the recall petitions. With the emergency clause, the bill would become law immediately after the Governor's signature. Such a clause is normally used only "to preserve the public peace, health and safety." The clause was defeated in the House when Democrats voted as a bloc for the first time in several years.

A previous suit, now appealed to the Arizona Supreme Court by the recall forces, gave Marston the right to purge 100,000 registered voters from the polls because they failed to vote in the November election. And overall, in the continuing struggle of Marston versus the recall forces, it appears Marston does indeed have the edge.

As recorder of the largest county in Arizona, Marston will be responsible for verifying the great bulk of signatures on the recall petitions. His commitment to this task will undoubtedly be consistent with his past performance. Without ever having seen a petition, Marston predicts the "signatures will not stand up over a good thorough check," and will "have a rejection ratio of 50 to 70 per cent." He also claims it will take four months to verify every signature. The Secretary of State cannot set a date for the election until 103,000 signatures are verified. Another court battle is likely to be needed to settle disputes concerning this process.

If Secretary of State Wesley Bolin, a conservative Democrat, who predicted the verification process could take six to eight months, is correct, there will be no election. "The fire has died out," says Bolin. "They (the recall forces) had a lot of steam up last year, but they have waited too long to file. Next year is the general election anyway."

To some extent Bolin is right. The delay in the verification process could cause a further loss in momentum in the campaign. The drive has never fully regained the spirit prevalent during Chavez's fast, but it has peaked sporadically, as on March 11 when Pollock ended his walk and 1,000 persons marched to a rally in Phoenix attended by Chavez. But the effort, coupled with amorphous long-range planning, is not likely to sustain enthusiasm for organizing through another long, hot summer without some idea of when, and indeed if, an election will be held.

It is not that the opposition fears a recall election itself; political observers on both sides are predicting that Governor Williams would win an election now by a substantial majority. Recall supporters believe the real reason for the opposition is fear that the recall would draw national attention to Arizona, once an election date is set and the campaign begins to peak. "If an election date were set, it would be a threat to the . . . *status quo*," says Bruce Meyerson, a Phoenix lawyer and head of the Citizens Committee for the Recall of Governor Williams. "It could dramatically politicize the state like no other event in the state's history." □

LETTERS *(Continued from page 482)*

a class reflex involved in this intolerance for deserters. And yet, these white and black men, sometimes without themselves fully understanding the significance of their conduct, made a gesture as revolutionary as that of the war resisters. An act does not lack political significance just because it is not articulately expressed in words: these men opposed an imperialist army that was bringing war to another continent. Amnesty cannot thus be limited and granted case by case. The only just amnesty must be unconditional (no alternative service) and universal. This is a political problem. The intention is obviously not to demoralize the Army but to recognize the citizen's right not to obey an unjust order, and further, not to participate in an imperialist war.

And we, the people of Europe, have the right to call for this amnesty as a sign that your government has no intention of some day involving us in an unjustifiable war.

Jean-Paul Sartre

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BOOKS & THE ARTS

Wild About Harry—and Not So Wild

HARRY S. TRUMAN. *By Margaret Truman. William Morrow & Co. 602 pp. $10.95.*

HARRY TRUMAN AND THE CRISIS PRESIDENCY. *By Bert Cochran. Funk & Wagnalls Publishing Co. 432 pp. $10.*

BARTON J. BERNSTEIN

Mr. Bernstein, associate professor in the Department of History, Stanford University, edited Politics and Policies of the Truman Administration *(Quadrangle Books). He is at present working on a book about the Truman era.*

"Honor and love thy father, defend him from his hostile critics, but admit his charming foibles"—that is the modern version of the Fifth Commandment that Harry Truman's loving daughter has followed in this biography of her father. The book, researched by a hired historian-journalist (Thomas J. Fleming) and allegedly written entirely by Margaret Truman, is often a disappointment, especially since she had access to her father's still unavailable private papers. It is filled with loving details, tells us little that is new, ardently defends Harry Truman, and is often cast in a style best described as "gee whiz, gosh" hokum, identified with the 1940s when Margaret was a teen-ager.

She is at her best in indicating the love and warmth within her family, and draws often upon previously unpublished letters from her father to his "Dear Margie." Arriving in Hot Springs in 1944, for example, he gently chided her: "Your old dad would be very happy if his daughter would always have a letter waiting for him when he gets to a new place. You are all that he has for the future and you, of course, cannot appreciate what you mean to him." Later, after her college graduation, when she was studying music in Missouri, he lamented, "the [White House] without you is dreary. I don't know what your mama and I will do when you go on tour. I guess I'll have to go to an orphan's home and get me a substitute. How would that do?" Failing to lure her back East for a visit and an Army football game at West Point, he tried humorously to express his disappointment: "Twenty-one hundred [cadet] bosoms were all aflutter when I arrived hoping to see my daughter. So just to get even I had to stand them up and make 'em quake their knees for me." Tenderness and devotion, frequently restraint, and usually teasing, were part of his fierce paternal love. His "Dear Margie" has reciprocated in the ways that he undoubtedly hoped she might.

Harry S. Truman, as portrayed by his daughter, was a solid, virtuous man. Most of the story is quite familiar, almost a part of national folklore. He fell in love with Bess in childhood, never considered another girl or woman, and delayed marriage until his 30s. Nor are his privately expressed attitudes revealing: he knew that Greenwich Village was "immoral" and proclaimed that "a man not honorable in his marital relations is usually not honorable in any other." Like so many men then and now, he seemed to relish the slight tension between his simple, "manly" tastes and the cultivation and culture of his wife, whom he publicly called the "Boss." A good woman meant uplift. She made him clean up his language and even soften his attacks on political enemies.

Some reviewers have praised Margaret Truman's book for disclosing important new information and valuable unpublished correspondence. Actually, some of the items that have been cited have long been known, and most of the others simply fill in details and add bits of color to already known events. Margaret tells us that Henry Wallace and James Byrnes discussed Roosevelt's political mistakes on the way to his funeral; that her father did not trust the "professional liberals"; that his old "friend" Leslie Biffle, Secretary of the Senate, was plotting on behalf of Alben Barkley at the Democratic Convention in 1948; that the President considered Gen. Douglas MacArthur "Old Prima Donna" as early as 1945; and that Truman had a low opinion of Justice William O. Douglas, whom he had tried to snare as a running mate in 1948. Justice Douglas, Truman then wrote, "belongs to the crowd of Tommy Corcoran, Harold Ickes, Claude Pepper crackpots whose word is worth less than Jimmy Roosevelt's. . . . No professional liberal is intellectually honest. That's a real indictment—but true as the Ten Commandments . . . [with which] professional liberals aren't familiar. . . ."

There are some newly published letters that seem at first glance to be very revealing, one even alarming. Late in July 1948, just before the special session, the President wrote to his sister:

> It's all so futile. Dewey, Wallace, the cockeyed Southerners and then if I win—which I'm afraid I will—I'll probably have a Russian war on my hands. . . .
>
> I go to Congress tomorrow and read them a message requesting price control, housing and a lot of other necessary things and in all probability get nothing. But I've got to try.

There is a danger of taking this letter at face value. It is the gloomy, exaggerated musing of a man who often adopted a different voice and stretched the facts when writing home. His military budgets, and the testimony of others in the administration, reveal that he did *not* expect war in the next few years. Nor did he want price controls and those other programs from the 80th Congress in July. Indeed, his strategy, following Clark Clifford's advice, was to make demands that he believed and hoped the Republican-dominated Congress would not grant. Building a record for the Presidential campaign, he pursued the strategy of "no compromise" on domestic matters.

The author's persistent defense of her father is often unconvincing. For example, in discussing the conviction for income tax evasion ($1 million) of Truman's old benefactor, Kansas City Boss Tom Pendergast, and the jailing of other members of his machine, Margaret writes, "I find it hard to describe how totally stunned my father was by these developments." That is unlikely. Are we to believe that her father, then almost two decades in politics and aware that the Pendergast machine voted the local tombstones, thought that Mike and his boys were simply good-hearted, staunchly honest Rotarians? To clinch her case for her father, she tells us "Harry Truman never surrendered a principle to gain political advantage."

Spiritedly partisan, her book is most strained when she defends her father from the charges that his administration was significantly or exclusively responsible for the cold war. Her foes are unnamed revisionists—D. F. Fleming, William A. Williams, Walter LaFeber, Lloyd Gardner, Gabriel Kolko and Gar Alperovitz, among others. They are the (usually unnamed) historians whom Bert Cochran has drawn upon in making his val-

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uable synthesis of revisionist interpretations of Truman's foreign and domestic policy.

Cochran's analysis is generally familiar. Truman fabricated or engineered crises to manipulate the public and Congress, refused to follow a policy of accommodation with the Soviet Union, tried to isolate it and suppress revolutionary movements, misunderstood Stalin's conservative aims, misinterpreted revolutionary movements elsewhere, helped prepare the way for McCarthyism, and neglected many of the nation's social needs. In short, his administration "represented the fusion of welfare-state liberalism grown desiccated in the embrace of voracious militarism." Quarreling with many liberal historians, Cochran warns against the cold-war managers (Harriman, Acheson, Bohlen, et al.) who seek to "enshroud Truman in a mantle of greatness" and thereby also vindicate themselves.

Cochran's book should be taken seriously as important interpretive history, and Margaret Truman's should not. But it probably will be, for it claims unjustified expertise and has even been applauded for its privileged access to insiders' accounts. Consequently, it requires some detailed consideration. Because Margaret Truman usually presents the once conventional view of her father's foreign policy and Cochran has relied upon the revisionists, let us look at their varying interpretations of key events—the dropping of the atomic bomb, the origins of the cold war, the creation of NATO, and the involvement in the Korean War.

Take the atomic bomb first. At Potsdam on July 21, 1945, when Truman learned the details of the nuclear test at Alamogordo, he "was tremendously pepped up" and had "an entirely new feeling of confidence." Winston Churchill concluded then, "It is quite clear that the United States do not at the present time desire Russian participation in the war against Japan." Citing this evidence, Margaret Truman admits that the bomb did have a substantial impact on negotiations at Potsdam: "It was obvious that we no longer needed Russia to end the Pacific War. This freed my father to negotiate with far more boldness and bluntness." Put simply, the bomb and Soviet entry were possible alternative ways of ending the war, and the bomb was more attractive because it did not require concessions to the Soviets—one of the arguments advanced by some revisionists. Apparently her research associate did her a disservice, for she does not effectively address the question that her interpretation raises: why didn't the administration ask the Soviets to sign the warning to Japan or even await Soviet entry into the war and thereby see if the shock would induce the Japanese to surrender? She is too busy denying another contention of some revisionists: the bomb was dropped on Japan to frighten the Soviets and give them pause in Eastern Europe.

For his part, Cochran offers a number of revisionist explanations which are compatible and which in combination may offer an approximation of the truth: Truman sought to delay Soviet entry into the war and to secure a Japanese defeat without Soviet aid; he wanted to use the bomb to put pressure on the Soviets in Europe *and* to end the war in the Pacific; he had always assumed that the bomb would be used and he did not have the capacity to examine that assumption; and he may have feared Congress' anger if he had not used the bomb, which had cost $2 billion. As Gen. Leslie Groves, director of the Manhattan Project, later put it, Truman "was like a little boy on a toboggan." The "decision" to drop the bomb could not be reversed. After Hiroshima, Cochran suggests, America's possession of the bomb may have compelled the Soviets to back down in Iran, the Dardanelles and Trieste. It was muted "atomic diplomacy." Explicit threats were unnecessary.

In lashing out at the revisionists, Margaret Truman distorts their analyses and even mistakenly lumps one of their critics (Gaddis Smith of Yale) with them. She has been misled by her ardor and anger, and presumably by her researcher, and offers the following caricature of revisionism: "Under the wise guidance of Franklin D. Roosevelt, American-Soviet relations were perfect. Then Harry S. Truman arrived in the White House and proceeded to provoke the eager-to-cooperate, disinterested, peaceloving Russians into the antagonism known as the cold war." She correctly reminds us of Soviet-American difficulties under FDR, casually overlooks the importance of the Anglo-American entente on the atomic bomb and the barring of the Soviets even from knowledge of the project, boldly defends all of her father's actions, glides over the ambiguity of the Yalta agreement on Poland, misunderstands the issues involved in economic aid, brushes quickly past the disputes over Germany, and rests her case on the intransigence and ambitions of the Soviets. "Faced with a prostrate Europe, the Russian leader saw no reason why he could not push communism to the English Channel." That interpretation is quite close to what many textbooks teach and to what most Ph.D. candidates in American history were supposed to say until about six years ago.

In rebuttal, Cochran asks why American policy makers were so deeply concerned about parliamentary democracy in Poland and the Balkans and not in Greece or Latin America. Russia's demands, he contends, conflicted with the Wilsonian belief in an idealized capitalism—"free trade, free access to raw materials, freedom of capitalism to invest, breaking down of all political barriers to free enterprise." America compromised its universalism in areas where it had great power and thereby unwittingly stressed the great gap between its rhetoric and practice. No spheres of influence for Russia, but colonialism for some European powers and United States suzerainty in Latin America. As Assistant Secretary of War John McCloy told his boss, Henry Stimson, in 1945, when they were trying to work out a legal formula for maintaining U.S. dominance in Latin America while denying the Soviet Union a sphere in Eastern Europe, "I've been taking the position that we ought to have our cake and eat it too; that we ought to be free to operate under this regional arrangement in South America, at the same time intervene promptly in Europe; that we oughtn't to give away either asset."

American influence in the Balkans and Poland, Cochran maintains, would have made those states "client states," and the Soviets had to communize the area in order to protect themselves. Like Williams, Kolko and many other revisionists, Cochran regards Stalin as a conservative. He distrusted revolution outside Russia. He urged Communists to cooperate in the French Government, pushed Tito to unite with the royal government-in-exile, advised Mao that there was no hope of Communist success in China and wanted him to disband and collaborate with Chiang, and tried to put down the Greek rebellion. As George Kennan later concluded, "From his political experience in the world of communism, Stalin wanted only one thing: weakness. This was not at all identical with revolution. Stalin did not want other states to be Communist."

NATO, Margaret Truman tells us, was both "a dam to hold back the threatening Communist flood" and part of the larger strategy of developing a position for "negotiations from strength." But NATO, as Sen. Robert Taft asserted in 1949 and some revisionists have since argued, made no strategic sense as a defensive pact: If the Soviets in 1949 planned to attack, they would simply act more quickly before the build-up. The build-up, in turn, could actually be provocative; it could unleash a pre-emp-

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tive attack or intensify the arms race. Despite these dangers, there were reasons for creating NATO, reasons only dimly hinted at by the administration at the time and largely obscured by Margaret Truman, but discerned by some revisionists and summarized by Cochran. NATO, as the military extension of the Marshall Plan, was a device for extending American influence in Europe, keeping European nations in the American orbit, and blocking neutralist tendencies. The threat was not Soviet aggression but a weakening of the extended American system. As de Gaulle later said, "An American protectorate was set up in Western Europe under cover of NATO." NATO was also a device for integrating an economically powerful and ultimately rearmed West Germany into the Western orbit. That was the price of American economic and military assistance to Western Europe.

The administration's statements during the NATO hearings are worth recalling. When Secretary of State Dean Acheson was asked by a Senator if the United States was counting on a revived German Army, he said, "We are very clear that the disarmament and demilitarization of Germany must be complete and absolute." Asked whether the United States planned to send substantial numbers of American troops to Europe, he replied, "The answer . . . is a clear and absolute 'No.'" Within a short time, the administration moved to send troops to Europe and to rearm Germany.

The Korean War destroyed the administration's political fortunes at home and deeply troubled allies abroad. For Margaret Truman, as for many others, the President was the innocent victim of rancorous passions at home and acted selflessly and boldly on behalf of the "free world." The meaning of Korea was clear: North Korea, directed by the Soviet Union, had attacked South Korea. American credibility and the defense of the "free world" were at stake. The President and his advisers believed that "it is the Greece of the Far East. . . ." Ironically, in ways Truman did not understand, he was probably correct. Both wars were civil wars that the United States misinterpreted as a part of the Kremlin's "master plan" for world conquest.

There had been a long history of border clashes and of mutual threats on the part of North and South alike to unify by force the divided Korean nation. Undoubtedly North Korean leaders did not expect American intervention, and they seem to have believed that their attack would unleash a revolution in the South and topple Rhee's regime. As Cochran asserts, there is no evidence that Russia knew of the North Korean plan in advance, much less sponsored it. Indeed, in terms of Russia's earlier caution in Iran, Berlin and Greece, as well as her absence from the Security Council in June 1950, there is considerable indirect evidence that Russia was caught unprepared.

It was a war that led one political party (the Progressives) to declare in 1952: "We recognize the integral link between the partisan war drive and the racist violence which seeks to suppress by napalm bombs and other atrocities the mighty upsurge of peoples of Korea . . . Indo-China, Malaya, the Philippines. . . ." For those who think of the Vietnamese War as unique or unusual in American annals, consider this statement in the British armed forces yearbook, first quoted by I. F. Stone and picked up by Cochran:

> The war was fought without regard for the South Koreans, and their unfortunate country was regarded as an arena rather than a country to be liberated. As a consequence, fighting was quite ruthless, and it is no exaggeration to state that South Korea no longer exists as a country. Its towns have been destroyed, much of its means of livelihood eradicated, and its people reduced to a sullen mass reduced to charity. . . . The national hatred and

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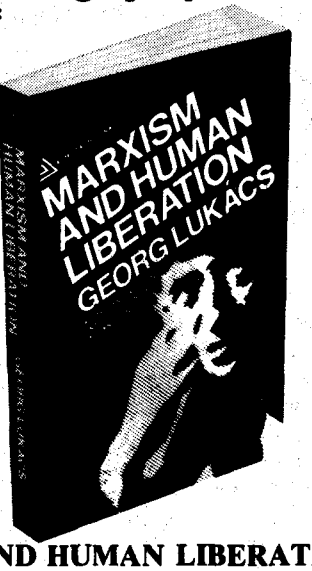

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Georg Lukács
Edited and with an introduction by E. San Juan, Jr.

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fear of communism was sufficient in most cases to inflame him [the American soldier] with a rather indiscriminate belligerence. . . . The South Korean, unfortunately, was regarded as a "gook" like his cousins north of the 38th parallel.

The North fared worse. As Gen. Emmett O'Donnell, Jr., commander of the Far Eastern Bomber Command, reported in 1951, ". . . almost the entire Korean Peninsula is just a terrible mess. Everything is destroyed. There is nothing standing worthy of the name. . . . Just before the Chinese came in we were grounded. There were no more targets in Korea."

The war, extended by the administration beyond the 38th parallel and to the borders of China, provoked the entry of Chinese soldiers—after Acheson and his cohorts disregarded Chou En-lai's warnings. After China's entry, the Joint Chiefs and MacArthur continued their peculiar dialogue in which both sides were less than candid. MacArthur made demands and exaggerated possibilities for successful military action, and the JCS sanctioned many of his dangerous ventures but often added timorous, sometimes ambiguous warnings. Cochran is correct that "Truman was no innocent bystander in this." He was inhibited by MacArthur's prestige and political power, and he was afraid to restrain "America's Proconsul in the Pacific." Reluctantly and fearfully, under the added provocation of MacArthur's undermining of attempts at a cease-fire in early 1951, Truman finally removed the General. The buck had stopped at last.

In assessing his own record, Truman claimed he was just a "country jake" from Missouri who did his best. Sometimes he was less modest. In his Farewell Address, for example, he was bold and optimistic: ". . . When history says that my term of office saw the beginning of the cold war, it will also say in those eight years we have set the course that can win it." Of such stuff are a loyal daughter's book, foreign policy and ideology made. □

A Nation that Has Not Learned to Surrender

VIETNAM'S WILL TO LIVE. *By Helen B. Lamb. Monthly Review Press. 344 pp. $10.*

TRAN VAN DINH
Tran Van Dinh teaches Asian and Vietnamese history at the Institute of Pan-African Studies, Temple University, Philadelphia.

The title of this review is taken from a Vietnamese popular saying:

Con dan dat Viet
Giong noi khong hoc chu dau hang.
(You are the children of the Land of Viet
A nation that has not learned to surrender.)

Vietnam is not a gift from heaven. It is a work of man, a beautiful, small country whose creators and custodians are the Vietnamese peasants. By hard work, creative intelligence, a deep sense of poetry and a serene optimism, the Vietnamese in 4,000 years have built a society characterized by a strong spirit of independence combined with an equally strong faith in humanistic collectivism.

Nature has not always been kind to the Vietnamese. Men, too, both neighbors and those living half a world away, have been cruel to them. They were and are trying to subjugate them. But the Vietnamese always refuse to submit to force. Dr. Helen B. Lamb's *Vietnam's Will to Live* is a well-documented, accurate account of what the book's subtitle calls their "resistance to foreign aggression from early times through the nineteenth century." To resist foreign aggression, especially when the aggressors —whether the feudal Chinese, the Mongols or the modern French, Japanese and Americans—are so overwhelmingly superior in brutal power, the Vietnamese had to develop their kind of strength. That strength lies in the patient, correct, simultaneous and successful fulfillment by the Vietnamese people of two closely related historical missions: *Dung Nuoc* (to build the nation) and *Giu Nuoc* (to preserve the nation). Everything from social organization to military doctrine must be geared to these two missions. Naturally, such a difficult task cannot be accomplished by any particular segment of the population alone; it can only be accomplished by the cooperation of all Vietnamese.

Successful resistance always took place when the national leadership succeeded in unifying the masses, especially the peasantry. "Independence and freedom being the most precious things" (President Ho Chi Minh) for the Vietnamese, their defense must not be left to chance or to abstract theories—despite the fact that the Vietnamese hold in great respect learning and intellectual achievements. When in the 11th century, after a thousand years of Chinese control, the Sung Chinese attempted to destroy Vietnam's newly recovered independence, Marshal Ly Thuong Kiet of the Ly dynasty didn't implore heaven for help, although it was he himself who proclaimed in a poem that the reality of Vietnamese independence was "written forever in the Book of Heaven." Instead, he rushed his troops to the border rather than wait for the enemy to reach the gates of the capital, Thang Long (Ascending Dragon, the ancient name for Hanoi). When the Mongols invaded the country in the 13th century, the Tran Emperor didn't consult the *I Ching* although he was versed in Buddhism, Confucianism and Taoism. He convened at the famed Dien Hong Palace a congress of village elders and received from them the unanimous endorsement for a "fight to victory." When in the 15th century the Chinese Ming occupied Vietnam, Le Loi, a farmer, didn't ask the advice of the local soothsayer. He invited a poet and strategist, Nguyen Trai, to be his counselor, and together they led the peasants in a successful ten-year war of national liberation. When the Chinese Ch'ing (Manchus) captured Thang Long, Emperor Quang Trung didn't feel hampered because he was in Central Vietnam. Instead, in 1789, in a lightning Tet offensive, he routed the invaders. The great Ch'ing Emperor Ch'ien Lung lamented: "The Vietnamese are indeed not a reliable people. An occupation does not last very long before they raise their arms against us and expel us from their country. The history of past dynasties has proved this fact." But Quang Trung, a monarch of peasant origins who had a Socialist program for the reconstruction of Vietnam, died at the age of 40 in 1792. Thereafter the country was plagued by internal divisions, social injustice and inept leadership, which led to the French conquest in the 19th century. But like earlier conquerors of Vietnam, the French were never able really to pacify the country, because, as Dr. Lamb rightly points out, "In Vietnamese history, the great hero is the man or woman who rallies the country against invaders, not someone who invites foreigners into the country in order to take sides in an internal struggle for power."

This simple truth, and the long and persistent struggle of the Vietnamese against foreign aggression, have been ignored by the colonial powers. They arrogantly claimed to "build a

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nation" for the Vietnamese while sending soldiers and planes to destroy them. Colonial-minded historians and writers —some of whom professed sympathy for the Vietnamese—have tried hard to establish some myth and fantasy about the Vietnamese national character to explain away the failures of their own colonial adventures. In this sense Dr. Lamb's *Vietnam's Will to Live* (and also Dr. David Marr's *Vietnamese Anti-Colonialism*, University of California Press, 1971, from which Dr. Lamb often quotes), is a very important contribution to the literature on Vietnam in the English language, which is still quite poor in quality despite the proliferation of titles on the subject in the last few years. I do not hesitate to recommend this book to anyone who wishes to understand the Vietnamese. To understand them is to understand their history of resistance against foreign aggression.

Perhaps more so than other people, the Vietnamese are conscious of their history, which in their case is a texture of continuity (or tradition) and revolution. Revolution tests, purifies and validates continuity, while continuity provides the basic conditions for mass support of revolution. The 1945 "Viet Minh" revolution, objectively understood, continues the march of Vietnam history. Its Marxist leaders led the Vietnamese people in the successful fulfillment of their historical missions—that of *Dung Nuoc* (to build the nation) and *Giu Nuoc* (to preserve the nation). And because of this, the August 1945 revolution is broadly supported by the Vietnamese masses and cannot be crushed even by the most advanced military-technological power in the world today, either by terror bombing or by subtle subversion.

Dr. Lamb's *Vietnam's Will to Live* can be considered as sympathetic to the Vietnamese struggle against foreign aggression in the sense that she has "learned how to look at the Vietnamese objectively, and at the same time, to experience their difficulties subjectively," to paraphrase a "marking" of Dag Hammarskjöld. But because it is sympathetic, it is in this case truthful. As the Vietnamese see it, in every human situation, truth and justice can be attained only by a harmonization of *Ly* (reason) and *Tinh* (feeling). Vietnamese readers will regard her book as *hop tinh* (conforming to feeling) and *hop ly* (conforming to reason), an honest attempt to understand them and their history. □

The Traveler's Tale Interpreted

BEHIND THE BERLIN WALL: An Encounter in East Germany. *By Steven Kelman. Houghton Mifflin Co. 327 pp. $6.95.*

HUGH T. MURRAY, Jr.
Mr. Murray, a native of New Orleans, taught at black colleges in the South until he was dismissed from his post at Southern University in 1969 in the wake of student protests. He has since taught at the University of Edinburgh and at Martin Luther Universität in the German Democratic Republic. He has published articles in Phylon *(Atlanta) and* Science and Society.

Steven Kelman first won recognition when *The New Leader* published his exposé of radicals at his suburban New York high school. Continuing his attacks upon the Left in *Harper's, Commentary* and *The Saturday Evening Post,* Kelman went on to write a book denouncing university activism, a product of his student days at Harvard. Finally, Kelman, a Socialist, decided to discover "what was the nature of life, everyday life," in Eastern Europe. Supported by a special scholarship from Harvard, encouraged by *The New Yorker* and Houghton Mifflin to record his experiences, he prepared to visit the German Democratic Republic (East Germany).

On entering the GDR, Kelman immediately expresses his bias against life there. "Obviously, people can't go around crying all the time. They have to adapt. How do they do it?" On the next page, he mentions Kafka; a few pages beyond, Orwell's Big Brother; 2 more pages and *Darkness at Noon.* In 6 pages Kelman has dropped names calculated to evoke a sense in his American audience of the GDR as a land of total repression. During his first days there he was engulfed by a "tidal wave of fear" so that "a few tear drops appeared," and he worried that an official might overhear his palpitating heart. What drama! What bull! I read it and laughed, for I have lived and worked in the GDR, so I know that the fear he described was not based on reality.

Examples: One of the misstatements in Kelman's book is that anyone who criticizes the GDR will go to jail. Another, that only Communists may teach in the universities. I am not a Communist, yet I taught at Martin Luther University in the GDR. There were things I did not like, and I said so (unlike Kelman, whose hypocritical

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Two important events in the 30 years of revision of the history of the war in Spain are: the 16th and 17th episcopal conferences (Sept. 1971 and Dec. 1972) of the hierarchy of the Catholic Church in which the majority of bishops voted for a resolution confessing that the Spanish Church had sinned in aligning itself with Franco and Fascism and asking forgiveness; and the recent publication of Arthur Landis's book **"Spain: the Unfinished Revolution"** which also corrects myths, falsehoods and Hitlerian lies which are generally believed throughout the world.

No one I know, friends of the Spanish Republic, has ever heard of the Spanish Hierarchy's confession. It is my hope that they, and many others, friends or not, will read Landis's book. Friends will confirm their convictions, and others will read for the first time important documented facts never before told, although some ten thousand books have been written on this subject.

In war (wrote Lord Ponsonby) truth is the first casualty. For three decades the effort of a few persons to set the historic record straight has continued. I wish there were a foundation devoted to that purpose. One of its duties would be to distribute Landis's volume to every library in America and to call it to the attention of everyone who would defy the view that history is lies agreed upon.

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FURNISHING THE PAST

The problem is what to do with so much space
where no one we know has ever been.
All we have to go on are old tables
and chairs, sidewalks that jump
the curled yellow border
clamped on lives
by the camera's click.

Because we cannot
we want to enter their bodies
taking part in whatever moves them
to windows and doors and each other
while an 1890 maple rakes air
into the twentieth century
and a deeper kind of shadow prints
bushes, bricks, the space
where our faces begin.

Paula Rankin

statements in favor of the GDR, while there, are as sickening as his allegations against the GDR now that he is back in the West). During one notable discussion period, attended by all my students and colleagues, the chief of the American section of the GDR foreign ministry labeled me a "victim of capitalist propaganda." Still, I did not go to jail. Nor did I lose my teaching post—in fact, I was offered a renewal for the following year. And among my students were some preparing to become diplomats for the GDR.

By contrast, I have also taught at Southern University in New Orleans, and I was fired for supporting student demands against a racist state. A colleague of mine was fired, arrested, and deported. Another colleague, who had merely ridden in my car, was also fired —though his brother-in-law was an FBI agent. Before he was admitted to Tulane to continue his graduate work, the chairman of the History Department checked with the New Orleans police to determine the young man's political reliability. The recent murder of two students at Southern in Baton Rouge does not convince me that things are improving. Like Kelman, I met opponents of the regime in the GDR, but in nine months I saw and heard of no repression there comparable to that in the Southern United States.

Kelman speaks of anti-Semitism in the GDR. While there, Jews were among my friends, my students and my colleagues. All denied the existence of any significant anti-Semitism; some had returned to the GDR from the West.

Perhaps the greatest contrast between Kelman's and my approach to the GDR can be found in our reaction to the East German film *Osceola*, concerning the Indian-slave war against Southern plantation expansion. Whereas Kelman condescendingly referred to it as a film in which slaves were whipped "every forty-five seconds," I found the movie to be one of the most revealing events of my stay. At one point a most attractive, young, blonde-haired, blue-eyed belle seizes her whip to beat her middle-aged, and not particularly handsome, Negro slave. The children in the audience spontaneously erupted in shouts and shrieks of, "Don't do it." I reflected that if this were shown to white youngsters in the South, they might cheer the woman on. The often exasperating restrictions in the GDR must be understood as an attempt to re-educate a nation. Happily, the GDR is succeeding.

Kelman is correct when he complains of the quantity and quality of many GDR consumer products. But almost everyone whom I encountered felt that this situation was improving. Moreover, Kelman actually wondered if he could remain alive on GDR food for two months. If it is good enough to sustain the athletes of the GDR—a nation finishing third at the past two Olympics though it has a population of only 17 million—then the food should be adequate to keep Kelman alive.

There was no unemployment in the GDR; crime was rare; blind and other handicapped people could walk with dignity, released from the humiliation of begging; racism had been suppressed; the liberation struggles in Vietnam and elsewhere were being supported. I find that a most impressive record for a country that lay in ruins in 1945. It is an impressive record for any country.

So to Kelman and the Social Democrats, to liberals and others who shiver when they hear of East Germany, I reply, "You are victims of your own brainwashing." The GDR may not be as free as I would like it to be, but it is undoubtedly freer than South Vietnam, South Korea, South Africa, the South, or most other areas of the "free world." Where, indeed, is the "free world" free, except in communities wealthy enough to assure their conservatism? Kelman came from such a community and attended a college that draws its students chiefly from just such social milieux. His idea of the world and his ideology are derived from those tiny oases where justice does often prevail, where hard work does often bring rewards. But those oases are surrounded by deserts of repression within the "free world." Southern University is far more representative of the West than Harvard; a New York suburb is not typical of the "free world." The ideology based upon that atypical foundation leads Kelman to the distortions displayed in his book. Even if he did not intend to write a biased, reactionary account of the GDR, he succeeded in doing so. □

THEATRE

HAROLD CLURMAN

Pirandello's *Emperor Henry IV* is both an interesting and puzzling play (Ethel Barrymore Theatre). It is interesting for reasons I shall discuss further on; it is puzzling because it has been so often and so divergently explained.

One commentator says, "to begin with, it is a study in insanity." Another speaks of it as "a condemnation of the psychiatrist's arbitrary, unscientific and even dangerous tampering with the fragile human mechanism." Still another critic tells us that Pirandello has used "Henry" "as a man who enunciates ideas about . . . the variety of learning, and the way man takes refuge from a harsh reality in beneficial illusions." Pirandello, this critic goes on to say, "has dramatized the dreadful loneliness of human beings, encased in shells of steel, never able to know or communicate with another."

The play's story line is simpler than these explications. A wealthy Italian gentleman early in the 20th century proposes a costumed cavalcade to his circle of swells. Each person—male and female—is to ride on horseback in a costume denoting a historic personage. The gentleman in question attires himself as Henry IV, who in the 11th century bore the crown of the Holy Roman

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Empire. He is very much in love with a frivolous Countess, a "tease" to several admirers. During the cavalcade, "Henry's" horse rears; he falls and hits the back of his head. Later in the play we learn that the accident was caused by Baron Belcredi, who has pricked the horse so that "Henry," his rival for the Countess, may be injured.

On recovering consciousness the fallen rider, though not visibly hurt, imagines himself to be the medieval Henry IV, whom he has been impersonating. He retreats into the seclusion of a villa where he sets up his "Kingdom," shunning all social contact with the real world. He wears regal robes, makes his servants assume the habit and manners of royal underlings. His infrequent visitors, in order to avoid the "Emperor's" incomprehension and rage, are obliged to accommodate themselves to the fiction by dressing in period clothes and assuming roles in "Henry's" historical entourage.

After twenty years members of "Henry's" family suspect that he is about to recover from his hallucination. They bring Baron Belcredi and the Countess, who has become the Baron's mistress, with them, as well as a psychiatrist who, they hope, will cure the deluded man.

We learn all that in the first act. In the second we discover that "Henry" had been mad for only twelve of the twenty years. But because he had come to despise the vain traffic of his upper-class milieu and because he learned that the Countess he loved had betrayed him with the cynical Baron, he chose to keep up his pretense and to live isolated for perhaps the rest of his life.

Like the others, disguised as a historical character, the psychiatrist attempts certain experiments to shock "Henry" into sanity. But "Henry" has made the mistake of telling his servants that for eight years he has only been pretending madness. They in turn reveal their master's secret to the visitors. When "Henry" tries to continue his game, and the gentry of his former set (especially the Baron) try to force him into admitting that he is not mad, he stabs and kills the Baron. "This time," Henry says ascending his throne, "we've no choice. We're here forever." He must henceforth play mad and perhaps become so, because in his exasperation with the people who have ruined his life he has been led to commit a crime.

Pirandello rings all the changes on these, the permanent themes of his work. (*1*) We are all caught in a quagmire between seeming and being. We assume roles which either attract us or are imposed on us. In either case, we are trapped so that we are unable to distinguish between the real and the image. (*2*) Those are dubbed "mad" who say things we loathe to hear. We come to believe the impostures we have created for ourselves as well as for others. Thus we cannot be sure of the truth. (*3*) The insane fill us with terror because their "truth" is as convincing to them as ours is to us. (*4*) Since the images we present to ourselves and others are in constant flux, only history and art—which are fixed and changeless—can convey something approximating the whole truth.

Because Pirandello was the first dramatist of our time to find striking theatrical modes to embody these ideas he is rightly considered a master, a commanding figure who has exercised enormous influence on many later playwrights. He found the means to dramatize the extensions and variants on "There is nothing either good or bad but thinking makes it so."

The ideas as such are endlessly debatable, and are subject to exegeses which range beyond stage boundaries. But though they have serious connotations, they have become almost commonplace and have even begun to bore me. They no longer impress me as being of great moment in the world I now experience. What interests me most in Pirandello are his temperament and the fashion of its expression.

It is basically a romantically hot Italian (or Sicilian) temperament, the kind which created masquerades, wild farces, extravagant epics, grand opera and above all *melodrama*—melodrama enriched by imagination full of highly colored subtleties. But this temperament has been cooled and complicated by Pirandello's German university education, especially as it is found in the involved ratiocination which led the analytic mind of Kant to a species of mysticism.

Pirandello's temperament was rendered especially intense by its stimulation through the fact of his wife's insanity. The fire that burns in Pirandello is altogether genuine; it lends his plays a heat which the convolutions of his reasoning never altogether dampen. The Italian imaginative faculty, the talent and taste for "weird" plots and astonishing stage devices, make what might have become dry theatrically glamorous—good *old* theatre.

While what Pirandello's plays demonstrate—their intellectual content—has lost value for me, their dramatic impulse, their anguished irony, which is not a mannerism but a passion born of real hurt, still win my rapt attention. The verbalization in these plays is sometimes excessive and tends to obscure rather than illuminate the narrative, though the glow of their fabulous atmosphere endures and frequently excites.

The production at the Ethel Barrymore (put on for a limited run in New York) is intelligent without being persuasive. All the motivations are understood; we certainly hear all the words of the very long speeches. But though overpowering emotion is attempted, it is not achieved.

I do not underestimate the difficulty of the task. Pirandello, as I have said, is both hot and cold, realistic and stylized, full of close argument and ardent outbursts. We are told several times that though "Henry" is eccentric or mad, he still preserves a certain calm. The "burning" quality of the play (which, by the way, may be conceived in part as a play of which jealousy is one element) must come from within the actor. Rex Harrison's performance is marked by bravura and the external signs of tempestuous engagement, but truth of feeling, which alone can move us, is largely absent.

And as Harrison is an accomplished actor, especially in comedy, with splendid equipment of voice, speech and general deportment, so the others—Eileen

"Home is the place where they have to take you in."*

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Herlie, David Hurst, Paul Hecht, Douglas Seale, Reno Roop—are impeded by a lack of original inspiration or daring flights of invention in the direction. Still this is no ordinary "show" and certainly worth seeing by those who hope to acquaint themselves with a signal dramatic text.

For theatregoers addicted to musical comedy, *Seesaw* may prove a pleasant occasion (Uris Theatre). As usual with such events these days, the parts are superior to the whole, though after leaving the theatre we may find the parts have cast a gratifying warmth on our total impression.

At the show's center is an abbreviated version by Michael Bennett of William Gibson's sentimental comedy, *Two for the Seesaw*. It is the story of an amatory encounter between a roughly sweet Jewish girl who studies dancing and is adrift in the purlieus of the entertainment world, with a decently square *goy*, a lawyer from Nebraska. The girl has ulcers; the man has a wife. The girl may be relieved of her ulcers; the man can't quit his wife. They part: he refreshed by his extramarital affair with the rude reality of the nice "working-class" girl; she assuaged by a touch of genteel intimacy and regard.

This innocent tale is surrounded by dance numbers and scenic projections which evoke the grinding, dizzy, popping spectacle of New York. In other words, urban razzle-dazzle glamorizes the modest heartbeat of simple lovers. The sets by Robin Wagner and the "media art" by Sheppard Kerman are employed with lively effect; the choreographic direction by Michael Bennett to Cy Coleman's so-so music and Dorothy Fields's fair-to-middling lyrics is deft and occasionally sparkling.

Bennett is greatly aided in his triple capacity as writer, director and choreographer by the winning tenderness of Tommy Tune's personality, a quality worth stressing beyond his considerable ability as a dancer. His lank figure makes his personal attractiveness conspicuous. Michele Lee, as Gittel the girl, gets over easily by a salty reading of her lines, her bright black eyes and a solid vocal delivery free of factitious huskiness. Ken Howard, who looks like a young John Lindsay, plays the square with a certain obliging squareness. And there is a girl among the dancers, Anita Morriss, startlingly pliant in limb and torso, who aroused my gratified wonder. In short, *Seesaw* is a show you may enjoy if you want to. □

HIDING YOURSELF

Descartes had an epitaph fom Horace inscribed on his grave: "Bene vixit qui bene latuit" (Who has hidden himself well has lived well).

To hide yourself well.
In the grave. Beneath winter.
Is it the same as life?
To conquer death
Through energetic enigmas.
"I think therefore I am."
How long am I? How long
Have you hidden yourself well?
I drop a key into your well
And hear it echo
In your hidden depths.
Are you living well?
Your well sparkles
Blankly in the sun.

James Schevill

ART

LAWRENCE ALLOWAY

The color of Robert Rauschenberg's "Venetian Series" is that of naturally worn and stained materials; aged like garbage, not wine. The series, which consists of cardboard constructions and sculpture, is on view at Leo Castelli's downtown gallery, 420 West Broadway (until April 14). The browns and buffs of the cardboard reliefs recall the scatter of collapsing and sodden boxes on the streets of SoHo, but they are assembled in sequences that show Rauschenberg to have completely retrieved his powers of improvisation. This amounts to a capacity to produce a work of art by a series of rapid decisions based on the developing state of the materials in hand.

To take the sculptures first: these are of two kinds, free-standing and using the wall as a support. The free-standing pieces are low-lying and roughly symmetrical; the others are peeled branches that lean against the wall, one carrying a slashed tire, one piercing a series of boxes. Close to the entrance to the gallery ropes from the ceiling support a canopy of twisted metal and wooden slats above a small bathtub on legs; from the canopy a gallon jar is suspended to float in the bath water. This setting of familiar hardware into a loose-jointed context recalls "Oracle," Rauschenberg's five-piece movable sculpture of 1965.

Various early themes are picked up in the new work. For instance, one piece consists of a screen door, circled by a big black inner tube, supported by an extension cord that leads off the wall to a burned-out lamp socket in the top of the door. Ironically, yards of additional cord are heaped up on the floor. The image is like a door with a wreath and the objects are redolent of expiring and depleted functions. It expands a motif Rauschenberg has used before, in an installation called "Dylaby" in Holland in 1962 (tube around a plank door) and "Tadpole," 1963 (inner tube nailed on a silk-screened city image). The trailing cord possibly echoes a loose fire hose that hung from a combine-painting of 1961, "Wall Street." But these are not mere repetitions; the decisive change is that, whereas formerly there was a kind of celebration of the world's abundance of objects, there seems now to be a stronger sense of the changes within objects.

Previously, Rauschenberg was sustained by his pleasure in the continuously changing uses of objects, but as once-clear, once-intact forms are crumbled or corroded, they are less objectified, and become more evocative of the process of decay. This can be seen in a group of reliefs which are organized as a progression from more or less whole to fragmentary forms. In one there is a handsomely phased sequence, reading from left to right, from a torn cardboard box (labeled "captiva") to a burlap sack (stenciled "use no hooks"). Another piece, which starts on the left with flat, whole forms, rises on the right into three dimensions, but by then the forms are shredded. Another relief includes a projecting surface from which hangs a cardboard box, neatly containing some rotted newspapers. A variant of this is a relief that includes a punched and deflated box from which a plumb line hangs, straight and true. The interplay of a feat of suspension with a state of advanced dilapidation is somewhat in the tone of Samuel Beckett. It has to do with comedy and with the one-directional movement of time.

Rauschenberg has described how these works came about. He had a five-day stay in Venice and spent the time exploring the city, taken both by its opulence and its erosion. The city is both "about to sink and too much." Of his own work he said, "I'm involved in decay," and Venice provided plenty of it. His interest in worn and rundown objects is found not only in the present show but in his combine-paintings of the 1950s in which he took urban detritus as a medium. The disrepair and neglect of Venice triggered an extraordinary inventory of decaying forms. The titles of the new pieces were not avail-

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able at the opening, but they will be puns in English and Italian on Venetian site names. (The Italian was being checked by Michael Sonnabend, the friend who acted as Rauschenberg's guide in Venice.) To Ezra Pound, Venice was opulent but stagnant, marvelous but not really condoned: "The prows rose silver on silver/taking light in the darkness" (Canto XXVI) and "'In the gloom the gold/gathers the light about it'" (Canto XVII). Rauschenberg's Venice, however, is not static but in process, en route to dissolution. The spectacle of decay has enabled Rauschenberg to do wonders with the cardboard that he has selected recently as a medium.

The way in which the works can be said to relate to Venice is not like that of landscape painting, architectural drawing, or photography which make iconic references to the original. (Iconicity is the degree of point-to-point correspondence between a signifier and what is signified.) Rather the work might be considered as a simulation, using the term to mean the reproduction of certain characteristics in a model that, in some respects, is quite different from the original. To use an example given by John R. Raser in his book *Simulation and Society*, an air conditioner may be described as a simulator of cool weather. So Rauschenberg's punched, ripped and deteriorating cardboard forms simulate the damp patches, the sunless corners, the water-blackened steps, the modern garbage in Renaissance courtyards—all the unprecedented dilapidation of beautiful Venice. □

DANCE

NANCY GOLDNER

From March 27 to 31, at the Sonnabend Gallery in SoHo, Trisha Brown and five other performers gave a series of "conceptual" dances. The group used mostly one bare room of the gallery. The audience sat on the floor against three of the walls. Had there been room for them, chairs would have been more comfortable, but the two hours spent with Brown and group on a Saturday afternoon turned out to be surprisingly enjoyable anyway. "Surprisingly" because conceptual dances—or exercises based on game rules—are essentially negative reactions to technique, theatricality, specialized movement (dance), and all the "elitist" assumptions and requirements that make theatre possible. Without these elements, what have you? Boredom and insufferable Sunday school lessons about the similarities between art and life.

Brown did not veer from game structure, but at the performance I saw, the games became a way to get to know the performers. They became personalities with distinct ways of moving and, finally, nice people. The event was called *Accumulating Pieces.* One "piece" consisted of taking from one to fifteen or so steps forward and backward to the starting line within a set space of time. In another piece one woman walked with her eyes closed while the others threw discs in her path, synchronizing their throws with her footfalls in an attempt to have her step on the discs. In a game called "sticks," the women set one end of long poles against the wall and placed the other ends on top of their heads. Then they had to work their way down to a crouch and finally to a prone position without having the sticks crash to the floor. In another game, one woman performed a series of movements again and again, until the audience could recognize the sequence. Then another woman would alter the shape of the sequence by bodily interfering with it or by providing a specific context, by means of dialogue, which then made the original sequence of steps looks absurd. This was called "theme and variations." Naturally, some games were intrinsically more interesting than others. "Theme and variations" got a big hand each time it was done because it involved the most imagination and interplay. The episode with sticks required good balance. But in the end these factors became irrelevant. You began to notice that all of the performers were investing tremendous amounts of concentration in everything they did. Not all the games required concentration, but because the women played them with quiet intensity they became theatrical. You began to notice things that were supposedly extraneous. Very often Trisha Brown herself did not enter into the exercises, but sat in a corner and watched intently, with the faintest trace of a smile in her eyes. So you watched her. You noticed in "sticks" that, on the way down to their knees, one woman would always arch her back and another would always crouch over. One girl was not very good with the sticks but quite accomplished with the discs. The face of a stocky girl showed such concentration that it took on a tragic look. Another Irene Papas, I thought. One woman, exceptionally beautiful, was relatively without personality until she had to superimpose a story line on another's movement sequence. After that ordeal she became giggly and much more responsive to the successes or failures of the other exercises. In fact, the entire group noticeably loosened as the proceedings went on. In turn, the audience became more aware of the fact that each game could be performed with more or less expertise and imagination. But most important, you became fond of all five women (a sixth joined in for only the last piece, the one performed only once). The first impulses were to size them up; there was the ugly girl, the beauty, the intense one, the loser, the benign overseer (Trisha Brown). As time passed value judgments were suspended. Eventually they were replaced by neutral interest. I left the concert touched by their sincerity, capacity for fun and gentleness.

They became friends, an illusion made possible no doubt by their ability to perform—to create a sense of importance in their activities and a sense of self-importance. The intimacy and glamour of an art gallery helped to intensify the atmosphere, as did the presence of Miss Brown, whose face and way of moving are models of the power of concentration, and of the fact that performing is basically a mental endeavor. In fact, everything that makes theatre theatrical was operating for these women. Even the exercises themselves, in their number, variations and arrangement, operated according to conventional theatrical techniques. As far as method was concerned, all of the time-honored concepts of what makes entertainment held; that is why the concert was entertaining. It was only the content—the

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games—that could be considered terribly *avant-garde*, but then the games were the least important aspect of the afternoon. They simply became the means by which the audience acquired warm feelings toward the performers. The most remarkable point about Trisha Brown's concert was its humanism. Her use of conceptual constructs to this end is a total justification of the form. I do not think that the audience would have felt so keenly about the five women were it not for the games format, but there is still a question as to whether game structures in themselves are worth a damn.

I Am a Dancer, a film that opened for a six-week run at the Ziegfeld Theatre on March 28, purports to be a documentary, but is really a typical Hollywood-type glamour show. The assumption is that Rudolf Nureyev is a Star, which the picture attempts to prove by panning in on his muscles and face for about ninety minutes. Nureyev is never off the screen, but the camera's devotion to its subject does not a star make. It does the reverse, actually; it makes you unwilling to recognize Nureyev for the star he, in fact, is. For example, the film begins with a scene of Nureyev in class. Showing the dancer at the *barre* could be a nice behind-the-scenes-touch. It could also be of major concern to someone interested in technique. Yet with the camera focused on Nureyev's sweat—we barely see the full body at work, let alone the other students in the class or the teacher—the scene becomes a case of hero worship. In scenes of performance the camera often cuts out the ensemble and sometimes Nureyev's partner. When the eradicated lady is Margot Fonteyn, no less a star and the person responsible for Nureyev's first big break in the West, the situation is downright embarrassing.

Except for these rude moments and an occasional gauche close-up of feet (when will film and television directors get over their enchantment with fancy footwork?), the best parts of the movie are the scenes from ballets—selections from Frederick Ashton's *Marguerite and Armand* with Fonteyn; *La Sylphide* with Carla Fracci; a duet from *Sleeping Beauty* with Lynn Seymour; and Glen Tetley's *Field Figures* with Deanne Bergsma, a ballet that, interestingly, not even the intimacy of the screen could enliven. Here we see good dancing by Nureyev and the women, yet it is simply good dancing. As such it runs against the movie as a vehicle for a star. These selections raise the question of why the producers chose to make a film about Nureyev rather than about dancing. For certainly none of the off-stage episodes sufficiently establish Nureyev as a personality per se. The narrator's quietly charged voice does not do the trick, while Nureyev himself is a little ill at ease when not dancing. At one point he comments that he lives out of a suitcase and likes it that way. The narrator's voice then pipes in with the explanation that Nureyev was born on a train—thus his capacity for keeping on the move. Hilarity was not what the producers had in mind I assume, but their intention of transforming a workhorse (which is what dancers are) into an interesting person seems equally implausible. The overall effort is not as stupid as some of the commentary, but the film is successful only when it treats Nureyev as dancer rather than personality. □

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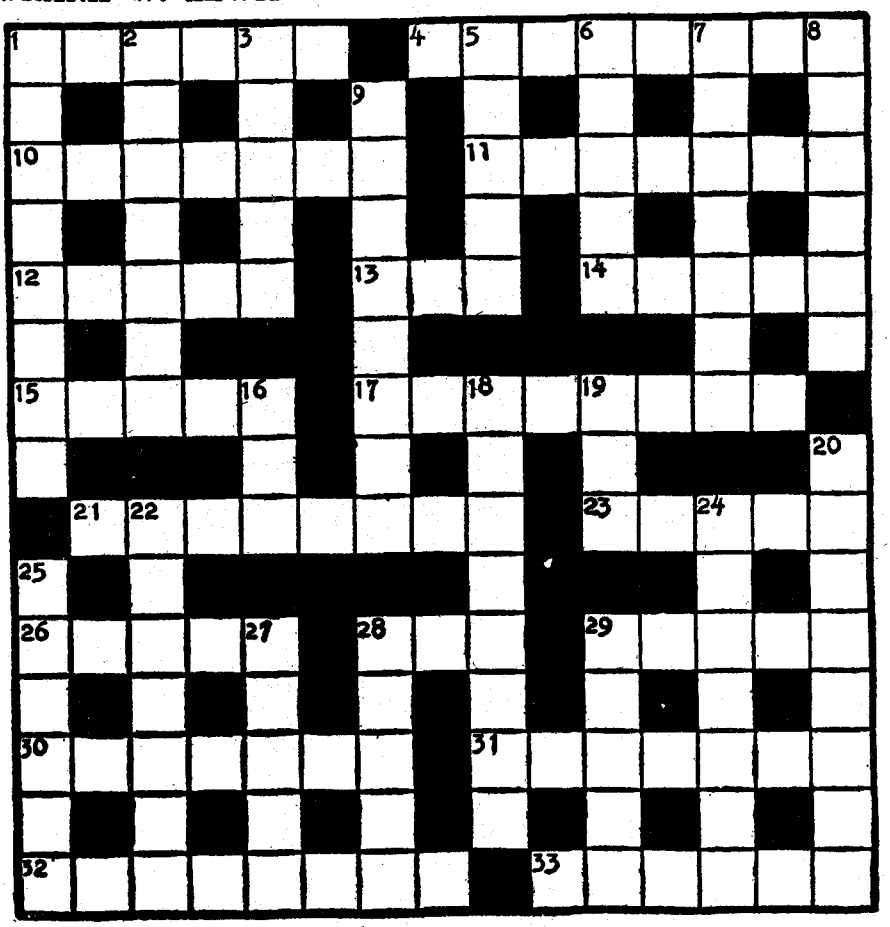
FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 4 Enter the correct answer to one of these clues and say something nice about me! (3,2,1,4,4)
10 Stunning figures? (7)
11 Hens or dogs, perhaps. (7)
12 When some go to lunch and have to make up for it. (5)
13 See 26 across
14 See 16 down
15 and 27 down Sawyer might be well-advised not to get ahead of his work here. (3,2,1,4)
17 With this one might not miss much. (8)
21 Man's not exactly about to do what has long been obsolete. (8)
23 Go along with the coach—it probably does. (5)
26 and 13 across The equivalent of A+B–A=A–Z, as we now say. (8)
28 Keep out of such a drinking establishment, if in the legal profession. (3)
29 This is always found to have fiber. (5)
30 Does it express your feeling, and possibly mine, too? (7)
31 What one may sometimes feel when a victory gets distorted about it. (7)
32 A non-union poet holds the edge, perhaps. (8)

DOWN

1 and 25 Did they show any credibility gap on Peter Pan's flying all over the place? (8,6)
2 and 33 across Within all human memory, the period of insanity? (4,3,2,4)
3 At least one of her parents wasn't an only child. (5)
5 The beginning note's rather shaky! (5)
6 Such a relative of 3 might be, frankly speaking. (5)
7 Cocaine derivative, rather watery. (7)
8 Besides, is the show not to go on? (6)
9 See 29 down
16 and 14 across Evidently someone other than Lincoln's mother, but I decline to say so. (2,6)
18 Sorry, you'll have to study the obvious! (8)
19 Mountain-climbing? Nonsense! (3)
20 Concludes as a non-starter to break open.
22 Currently, what might measure a dance from the old country could be something of a jar! (7)
24 Being in the class again has a point for Africans. (7)
27 See 15 across
28 Does one who has to study at the last minute make a blunder? (5)
29 and 9 down Implying the directors are comparatively unrelaxed? (5,2,1,5)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1484

ACROSS: 1 Unromantic; 10 and 29 Trading post; 11 Trepans; 12 and 6 Given the gate; 13 Noise; 15 Vague; 17 Letting on; 19 Refutable; 21 Enter; 23 Horse; 24 Prisoner; 27 Twister; 28 Uneaten; 30 Free sample. DOWN: 1 and 18 Up to the minute; 2 and 20 Roaring forties; 3 Maize; 4 Night club; 5 and 9 In the meantime; 7 Abating; 8 Easterners; 14 Over the top; 16 Entreaty; 22 Treetop; 24 Parer; 25 Opera; 26 Ante.

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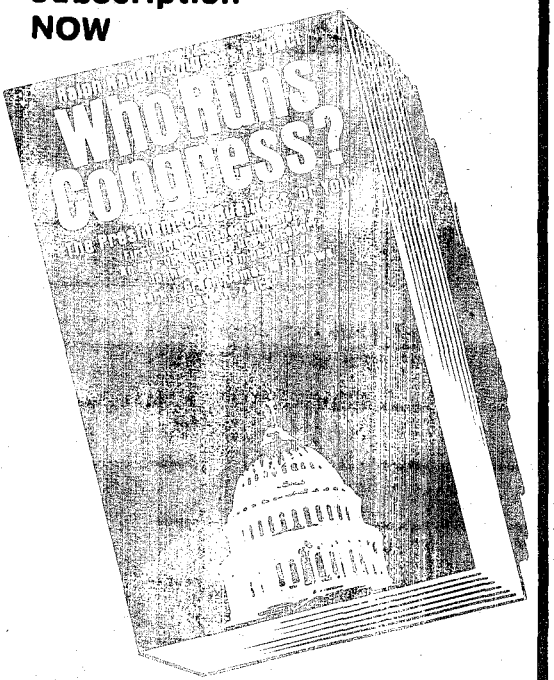

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